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**INFORMATION REPORT**

COUNTRY Central America

SUBJECT Report on Communism in Central America

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1. Available on loan from the CIA Library is a document published by John A. Clements Associates of New York entitled: "Report on Central America," and which contains these subdivisions:

Report on Central America  
The History of Communism in Central America.

2. This document treats of Communism in Central America at considerable length, 18 pages being given over to the current status of Communist activity and 77 pages to the last decade.

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REPORT  
ON  
CENTRAL AMERICA

And

THE History of  
Communism in  
CENTRAL AMERICA

Prepared by:

JOHN A. CLEMENTS ASSOCIATES  
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New York, New York

1954



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*Clements, John A., Associates*

REPORT ON CENTRAL AMERICA

CPYRGHT

The Communist conspiracy has made such tremendous headway in its program in Central America and Panama, that, unless current trends are quickly checked, the Kremlin will soon dominate the entire area.

Once the Communists attain such domination, it will be virtually impossible to dislodge them without direct military intervention by the United States followed by the military occupation of those countries for a prolonged period. And the prospects of direct intervention and occupation are themselves fraught with the gravest diplomatic dangers to this country, both in its hemispheric and its international relations.

The Communists are so confident of success that their high command recently raised their operating procedure for this area from the social level to the political level.

Nevertheless, if the present trends continue, and the Communists gain control over this entire strategic area, it will be by the default of the United States government.

The Department of State has failed to correctly evaluate the seriousness of the situation, and appears almost unaware of the rapid progress being made by the Communist campaign. What policies it has adopted to meet the Communist challenge, have been weak and vacillating in their essence, and frequently bungling and inept in their application.

Although we are fortunate in now having at least three competent and aggressive ambassadors in Central America (Hill in Costa Rica, Whelan in Nicaragua and Peurifoy in Guatemala), too many of the diplomatic and military representatives that we have sent to this vital area in recent years have been unfit for their grave responsibilities. And our highly qualified men have been handcuffed by official policy, or what might be termed the lack of it.

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As a result, U. S. prestige in this area is at an all-time low, at the one time in our history that we have most needed the assurance of strong, reliable allies next door to us.

Major investments in Guatemala are doomed, at least for the present.

CPYRGHT A similar situation is rapidly developing in Costa Rica, and the same pattern is certain to be followed in the other republics, as soon as political conditions are ripe.

Nevertheless, black as the picture now looks, the situation is far from hopeless. With an intelligent and aggressive effort on our part, the entire area can be saved. Not only saved from Communism, but Central America and Panama can be quickly developed into firm, valuable and reasonably strong friends of the United States, and into profitable outlets for private investment, if our government acts immediately to correct its past mistakes, and to develop a decisive, long-range policy based on firmness, friendliness and mutual respect.

The most tragic aspect of the policies the United States government has followed in Central America and Panama, is that we not only have failed to use firmness in dealing with those governments and elements that are hostile to our legitimate national and private interests, but we have consistently ignored and humiliated those governments and individuals who are our proven friends.

Worse, the Department of State has actively discouraged the efforts of the Central American governments to deal with the Communist menace themselves.

Three friendly Central American republics, who have firmly suppressed Communist elements in their own countries, are now being squeezed in a Red political pincers movement; between Guatemala on one side, and Costa Rica on the other.

The Communists have complete control of Guatemala. They have a firm

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grip on President Arbenz, his Cabinet, and the entire government machinery, including the legislature, the press, radio, and the educational system. They control the Agrarian Reform administration. They control labor unions and political parties. They dominate the leadership of the Agrarian organizations, and have established six schools to indoctrinate younger and more intelligent campesinos in Communist ideology and tactics. They are making substantial progress in the Army and police force. A few outright Communists have been moved into top Army posts. Other Army leaders have been "captured" by bribes and promotions. Unreliable officers are being exiled, retired, or shunted into unimportant positions. Some headway is being made in converting younger officers to Communism. However, there is still a substantial but apparently un-organized group in the Army that is adamantly opposed to Communism.

Now, under the government of President Jose Figueres Ferrar, the same pattern is rapidly unfolding in Costa Rica which the Communists followed so successfully in Guatemala. Although Figueres vehemently denies (as did Arevalo and Arbenz) that he is a Communist and even insists he is anti-Communist, his chief political adviser and the power behind the throne is Romulo Betancourt, the exiled former President of Venezuela and a self-avowed Red. Ever since Figueres took oath of office, there has been a steady migration of skilled Communist agitators from Guatemala to Costa Rica, where they are organizing labor unions among workers.

President Figueres has already notified the United States Ambassador of his plans to nationalize the U.S. owned electrical company. Although he insists, officially, that he does not intend to nationalize the United Fruit Company holdings, he is attempting to negotiate a new contract with the company which is close to being confiscatory. Moreover, he has privately assured his personal friends and many officials that this is simply the first step to total nationalization which is his ultimate goal.

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Ambassador Hill has repeatedly and vigorously informed Figueres that our government will not tolerate nationalization of United States investments, and there is some indication, that, as a result of Mr. Hill's firm stand, Figueres may temporarily modify his tactics.

Nevertheless, President Somoza of Nicaragua, a shrewd and well-informed person on Latin American affairs, believes that if the situation is permitted to drift, the Red encirclement of Central America -- including his own country -- will be complete within 12 to 18 months.

With varying degrees of emphasis, practically all of the authorities consulted concur with President Somoza's view.

The Red encirclement tactic was apparent to many Latin American governments as long as 18 months ago. Several of these governments have been in frequent consultation with one another about the situation.

Less than a year ago, President Somoza discussed the situation with the then Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Edward G. Miller. He advised Mr. Miller of the deep concern throughout Latin America at the conditions in Guatemala. He expressed concern and resentment at the way Red agitators were moving freely from Guatemala into other Latin American countries, often under the protection of official Guatemalan passports. He described accurately the situation that was then shaping up in Costa Rica, and the threatened encirclement of the three friendly countries (including his own.)

President Somoza bluntly advised Mr. Miller that the only solution to the situation was to throw the Communists out of Guatemala.

He told him that eight Latin-American countries, including his own, were prepared to support a coup. (These are: Cuba, Dominican Republic, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Venezuela, and Colombia.) He outlined the strategy that had been planned in considerable detail. Those governments were

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prepared to supply the necessary money, arms, equipment and "volunteers" to assist the anti-Communist Guatemalan revolutionaries. President Somoza told Mr. Miller that they neither needed nor wanted the official help of the United States government, that anti-American sentiment, fostered by the Communists throughout Central America, was so strong that official aid on our part might be regarded as "Yanqui Imperialism."

However, he told Mr. Miller it was absolutely essential that they be given firm, unofficial assurance that, if the eight Latin American governments supported such a coup, the United States government would not place any obstacles in the way, either in the United Nations, the Organization of American States, or by direct diplomatic intervention. Mr. Miller not only refused to give such assurance, but he strongly discouraged the whole idea.

It is reported that the Department of State has discouraged proposals advanced by Central American governments to submit complaints to the Organization of American States regarding the interference in their internal affairs by Communist agitators carrying official Guatemalan passports.

The Central American governments also feel that the Department of State has been very cool toward the newly-formed Organization of Central American States (ODECA), from which Guatemala withdrew because of its anti-Communist attitude.

There has been a change of administration since President Somoza's confidential conversation with Mr. Miller, who has been replaced by Mr. Cabot. However, the Central American officials were unanimous in agreeing that they could detect no change in the official policies in the Department of State.

Nevertheless, some of these governments are so concerned that they are still pushing ahead with the plan that was outlined by Somoza to Miller in the hope that they will eventually be able to proceed.

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As recently as three weeks ago, President Somoza conferred with the Guatemalan exiles in San Salvador. His purpose was to eliminate jealousies and the conflicting ambitions of the various groups and to integrate them into a reasonably working organization. At one time, there were as many as 25 Guatemaltecos, some in exile and some still in Guatemala, who had ambitions of becoming the President, in the event of a successful coup. (That figure was received from various sources but is probably somewhat exaggerated.)

Somoza insisted that the success of the coup depended absolutely upon all of the anti-Communist Guatemalan elements agreeing upon a single leader who would act as temporary President pending an election which would take place as soon as conditions could be stabilized.

Somoza and the other governments interested in this situation have assured the Guatemalan revolutionaries and our own Department of State that as soon as the coup is effected and order is restored, whatever "volunteers" they supply will be withdrawn, and that when an anti-Communist democratic government is established in Guatemala, none of the assisting governments will intervene in any way in the internal affairs of this country.

The political exiles of Guatemala are gradually organizing, despite the difficulties involved from the fact that they are scattered among the five countries. They have agreed on a quite detailed political, social, and economic program, which they will effect when a democratic government is established in their own country. This program will be spelled out in a more detailed memorandum. The program appears to be moderately liberal and democratic.

The Guatemalan exiles, as a result of the advice from President Somoza, have now agreed that their leader is Carlos Castillo Armas, former head of the Guatemala Military Academy, who is now in exile in Honduras. He is to be the President of the country in the event of a successful coup, until stability can

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be restored and a reasonably free election held.

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The Guatemalan exiles are now maintaining at least four weekly publications in El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, and Cuba -- despite persistent efforts on the part of the Arbenz government to persuade the governments of these countries to suppress these publications. Examination of those publications indicates that they concentrate on exposing the Communistic affiliations of the Arbenz government, the disastrous effects that Communism will have on the lives of Guatemalan citizens of all categories, and a specific and detailed program along moderately liberal lines which they desire to effect, if a truly democratic government can be installed in their country. These publications are being smuggled into Guatemala in substantial quantities. Also, in a desire to challenge the Arbenz government, copies of these publications are being mailed directly to President Arbenz, to members of his Cabinet, all members of the Legislature, all labor leaders and educators, and even to the Communist leaders themselves.

They, and every other informed source with whom we talked, agree that the Communist-controlled government in Guatemala can only be thrown out by revolution. It is also agreed that because of the doubtful status of the Guatemalan army, such a revolution to be successful must be supported by outside sources. Our Ambassador agrees. Our military people agree. Somoza agrees. Our private citizens who have resided there for many years agree.

The revolutionary organizations (and Somoza concurs) believe that it is essential that the U. S. public understand thoroughly all phases of the situation when the coup is attempted. They understand and appreciate the extent to which the government of the United States in a time of crisis must respond to American public opinion.

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They are worried at the possibility that American public opinion may be misinformed as to the true situation and as to the aspirations of the revolutionaries, which might force an adverse position by the United States government.

In every country visited, local officials and business men asked how they could acquaint the United States government, along with the United States public with their proposals in dealing with the Communist menace and with their legitimate aspirations in improving their own economies.

All classes in Central America feel very deeply that the United States government and public has been so engrossed with the Kremlin's efforts to expand in the Far East, the Middle East, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe, that we have completely neglected the Communist encroachment in their own countries which are right next door to us.

Our friends down there feel that their own countries are in jeopardy, and that it is to the interest of the United States for its own security, to agree upon an effective method to check the spread of Communism in Latin America.

The Guatemalan exiles who propose to risk their lives, and the officials of the other Latin American republics who are willing to risk their careers, are most hopeful that the coup which they expect to effect eventually in Guatemala will not be regarded by the United States public as simply another revolution in a banana republic, nor an attempt by one self-seeking dictator, to replace another.

The two bright spots in the dismal over-all picture presented in Central America are Panama and Nicaragua.

Both countries have strong, apparently efficient, and vigorously anti-Communist governments. Both are friendly to the United States, and have demonstrated that friendship time and again.



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Both governments, however, are badly in need of a demonstration of friendship by our government towards them, in order to maintain the political prestige and to justify their pro-U.S. policies.

Such a demonstration has not been forthcoming. On the contrary, the policies of our Department of State, and in some instances the Department of Defense, towards Panama and Nicaragua has on some occasions, come close to being openly hostile. For some reason, there appears to be a feeling of antipathy in Washington towards President Remon, who not only has cracked down on the Communist agitators with all of the skill and vigor of the professional policeman which he is, but is also doing what even his opponents concede to be an excellent administrative job.

President Remon is undertaking two reforms that are quite revolutionary in Panamanian political history. For the first time he is undertaking an equitable collection of taxes. He is also stamping out a deeply entrenched system of graft which for years has permeated all ranks of the Panamanian Government.

When Remon took over in Panama the government was behind almost two years in payment of its bills. He was even compelled to borrow a large sum from the United Fruit Co., against its future taxes, to keep the government's credit from collapsing. But by adhering rigidly to his new fiscal program, Remon, within less than two years restored the government's credit, and it is now current in paying its bills.

President Remon has the full support of his country. Nevertheless, he is potentially in a tenuous situation.

His government is now engaged in negotiations with the United States Government in an effort to rectify several long-standing grievances.

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Under the treaty of 1903, the Panamanian Government receives a remittance of \$250,000 per annum as rental for the railroad, the canal, and the adjacent territory occupied by the United States under that treaty. In 1934, this was raised to about \$450,000 annually, to offset the effects of our devaluation of the dollar.

However, Panamanians feel that the changed economic conditions over the past 50 years make this sum grossly inadequate.

President Remon is asking that the Treaty be revised and that the Panamanian Government receive a fee of five million dollars annually, which the Panamanians (and many United States residents in Panama) believe would be a fair portion of the fees earned by the Canal, about \$30 million annually.

The other adjustments sought by President Remon and now under negotiations in Washington concerns the practices of the Panama Canal Company, a government-owned subsidiary of the Department of the Army. These practices, which are bitterly resented by Panamanians of all classes and which have provided the Communists with useful propaganda material are:

1. The double wage standard under which the Panama Canal Company pays Panamanian employees about one-third of the wage paid to United States nationals doing identical work.
2. The refusal of the company to employ Panamanian nationals in any but the lowest paid jobs. This is partly due to the refusal of the AFL to admit Panamanians to their unions which have closed shop contracts with the company covering all skilled classifications. The company makes no effort to train Panamanians for minor administrative positions.

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3. The huge volume of business done by the company's commissaries and the military post exchanges in the Canal Zone, which sell virtually all types of merchandise (luxuries as well as necessities) not only to residents of the Zone, but also to Panamanian employees, who shop there not only for their families and relatives, but also for their friends. Although the company insists that the commissaries are operating at cost, it is reported they operate at a substantial loss, and that one reason for their low prices, compared to prices charged by Panamanian privately-owned stores, is that the commissaries are actually being subsidized by the U. S. taxpayer.

Panamanian officials and particularly their business men consider it quite ironic that a government which preaches so earnestly the virtues of private enterprise should subject their weak economy to the "ruthless competition" of a vast government-owned and government-subsidized merchandising system.

President Remon said he personally discussed all of these matters with President Eisenhower during his recent visit to Washington, and that President Eisenhower was amazed to learn of these practices, felt that the requests of the Panamanian government were justified, and gave his personal assurance that a more equitable arrangement would be worked out.

However, we were advised by a responsible official of the United States Embassy there that the latest unofficial report from Washington indicates that none of the Panamanian requests will be granted. Negotiations are taking place between representatives of Panama and second-level officials of the Departments of State and Defense, and are expected to drag out for months.

This may well be another illustration of the common practice of the

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Department of State second-level officials undercutting the policies and decisions of their superiors and the administration.

If this report is correct, it will seriously impair President Remon's prestige and make it extremely difficult for him to maintain popular support for his friendly attitude toward the United States Government.

Another factor which seriously jeopardizes our relations with Panama is the arrogant attitude of the Governor of the Canal Zone and the officials of the company in their dealings with the Panamanian Government. The Panamanian officials complain that they are treated like colonial subjects in their discussions with the Governor and the Company. Their complaints are substantiated by informed U. S. residents there and also by members of the Embassy staff who say that they have much more difficulty in dealing with the Zone and our military officials than they have with the Panamanian Government.

United States residents in Panama, even including officials of our government, believe that the United States, in its dealings with the Panamanian Government and people, is guilty of the same short-sighted practices which have proven so costly to the British in the Suez and Iran.

In fact, it is freely expressed by prominent Panamanians, as well as informed American citizens in the Zone, that the State Department, the Department of Defense and Canal Zone officials are apparently creating another "Suez Canal Situation." They point out that as early as 1947, the Department of State urged the British government to undertake in Iran and in Egypt many of the reforms which President Remon of Panama is now asking the U. S. to adopt.

To a lesser extent, similar conditions exist in Nicaragua. Our Ambassador, Mr. Whelan, and all of the members of his staff, have the highest respect and admiration for President Somoza. They feel he has achieved an economic miracle. When he assumed control, Nicaragua was a one-crop country. When the price of

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coffee was high, Nicaragua was reasonably prosperous; when the price of the coffee dropped, their economy collapsed.

During President Somoza's regime, he has opened up hundreds of thousands of acres of new agricultural land and has diversified the economy. Nicaragua now exports, in addition to coffee, substantial volumes of cotton, sugar, vegetable oils, cattle, cereals and other agricultural commodities.

The government's credit rating, once one of the worst in the world, is now among the best.

The Ambassador also assured us that President Somoza's government has maintained the friendliest attitude towards the United States. He has yet to make a request to President Somoza that has not been granted. Nevertheless, the officials at our embassy in Managua are obliged to reject request after request of the Nicaraguan government, even though they regard many of the requests as reasonable and thoroughly justified.

President Somoza would like to receive a modest amount of assistance from the United States to improve his country's sanitary facilities and highway system.

He has also sought the support of our government for a program to standardize military equipment of the friendly Central American and Caribbean republics. He wants us to supply those governments with a limited amount of modern military equipment, sufficient for training purposes.

The President believes that a full-scale clash between the United States and the Soviet Union is a strong possibility, and he feels that the Central American and Caribbean republics should be permitted to play their proper role in the conflict. If military equipment throughout the area is standardized and their troops are trained in the use of modern weapons, he feels that those countries could quickly develop a defense program adequate to protect themselves, and, perhaps, to supply us with additional forces for offensive action.

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However, President Somoza points out that the Department of State will not permit any of those countries to purchase military equipment in the United States. As a result, some of them buy their arms from Italy, others from France, some from Czechoslovakia, (via Israel), and other European sources. As a result, each republic has different type weapons and requires different type ammunition. In the event of war, their weapons would be useless since the United States would be unable to supply them with the proper ammunition.

President Somoza is very anxious to attract American private capital, as is President Remon in Panama. Remon has even asked the United Fruit Company to investigate the possibility of growing bananas in an undeveloped section of the country near the Columbian border. It is certainly an unusual experience, during recent years, for the United Fruit Company to be asked to start taking on new concessions.

Somoza, however, feels that he will have little success in attracting U. S. investments to Nicaragua, as long as the Communist situation throughout Central America remains so menacing.

The unfriendly attitude of Washington toward Remon and Somoza undoubtedly stems from the fact that they are regarded by our zealots as "dictators."

President Remon was elected in a completely free election by an overwhelming majority. His policies have won strong support even from the opposition parties. He has made no attempt to suppress criticism or opposition.

Somoza permits a vigorous and highly critical opposition press to operate without molestation. He has taken several members of the opposition party into his Cabinet. Ambassador Whelan said that during his two years in Managua, the only persons jailed for political reasons were five leaders of the Communist movement. He also holds office as result of an overwhelming victory, in a free election.

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The inescapable conclusion to be drawn in Panama and Nicaragua is that the two governments who have maintained the friendliest attitude toward the United States have received in turn the most hostile treatment our government has given any country outside of the Iron Curtain.

In every country except El Salvador, the greatest emphasis was placed by the local governments and our embassy officials on the need for highways. All of these countries have agricultural economies. They have extremely low living standards. And all of them have tremendous areas of rich agricultural lands which cannot be utilized because of the lack of transportation.

Panama, which has hundreds of thousands of acres of rich, virgin soil, is compelled to import nearly ten million dollars worth of foodstuffs, annually.

Ambassador Whelan, a dirt farmer from North Dakota, believes that a very small amount of assistance from the United States in developing a highway system throughout Central America and Panama would have a tremendous effect on the economies and living standards in those countries.

The low living standards throughout Central America supply the Communist agitators with their most useful weapon. While the Communists draw their most useful recruits and their local leaders from the "intellectuals" the bulk of their popular support comes from the laborers and the campesinos.

Thus, due to the firm stand of Somoza and Remon, Communists, at the moment, are making little headway in Panama and Nicaragua. However, they are rapidly increasing their efforts in Honduras and El Salvador. President Somoza is concerned at the situation now developing in Honduras. President Galvez, who is vigorously opposed to Communism, is not a candidate for re-election next year. Somoza believes that the outstanding candidate is Tiburcio Carias, former President and close friend of Galvez. Somoza says Carias is an able man, strongly opposed to Communism, and a good friend of the United States.

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However, Carias is quite old and it is doubtful that he has the energy and strength necessary to meet the serious situations which are developing in Honduras.

Although the government of President Osario appears firmly entrenched in El Salvador and it is vigorously combatting Communist agitation, Red organizers and agitators stream back and forth across the Guatemalan border daily.

It is apparent that Ambassador Hill's instructions in Costa Rica are to follow the same identical policies which failed so dismally in Guatemala. As was former Ambassador Schoenfeld in Guatemala, Mr. Hill obviously is under instructions to avoid any public friction with Figueres' government and to make every effort to win the personal friendship and confidence of Figueres himself and his closest advisers. (The closest of these is Betancourt).

It was obvious in conversations with Remon and Somoza, that these two gentlemen could not help notice the difference in the attitude of our Department of State toward such unfriendly countries as Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Bolivia, and the treatment it reserved for themselves.

Surely, other Latin American governments must be noticing these differences. And sooner or later, most of these governments must be certain to conclude that the best way to get friendly treatment from the United States is to kick us around.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is obvious that a reappraisal of the entire situation in Central America and Panama must be made at the top level in the State Department.



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2. It is imperative that, on the basis of this new appraisal, a firm, realistic and long range policy be devised for the entire area. Both the reappraisal and the policy should be subject to review and approval of the White House and the leaders of both Houses of Congress.

3. It seems reasonable that the basis of the new policy should be a display of firmness in dealing with those governments and individuals who are hostile to our legitimate interests, and a display of cordiality to those governments and individuals who are friendly towards us.

4. The personnel of all ranks in our diplomatic and military missions, from ambassadors and generals down to clerks and privates, should be re-examined, and all individuals who are unqualified for their responsibilities, or who are temperamentally unfitted for dealing with Latin Americans, should be quickly replaced by men of the highest caliber.

5. While the basic policy must be adhered to, it should be sufficiently flexible to enable our diplomatic representatives to exercise some judgment in adapting it to meet local situations.

6. A modest, long-range program to assist the friendly governments in this area, in their efforts to improve their highway and sanitation systems would seem a realistic way of displaying our friendship to them. If we were to allocate to this entire area, over a five year period, for highway construction, the \$60 million in aid we are giving to Israel, annually, we would enable those countries to develop millions of acres of untouched agricultural land, and to exploit hitherto inaccessible mineral deposits. We not only would strengthen their economies, but we very probably would discover new sources of scarce materials needed by our own industries as well as open up new and important markets for the U. S.

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7. The Point Four program in this area should be carefully reviewed, and the unrealistic, "boondoggling" projects eliminated.

8. We should give every encouragement and support to the desires of the friendly governments in this area to coordinate their military defenses, certainly we should not discourage it.

9. Most important of all, we should give every reasonable support, both officially and unofficially, to the efforts of the friendly governments to combat the Communist menace.

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THE HISTORY OF  
COMMUNISM IN CENTRAL AMERICA  
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The Communist conspiracy in Central America is directed from Moscow through front organizations with headquarters in various cities of Eastern and Western Europe and through headquarters for operations in Latin America situated in Mexico.

The Communist party is outlawed in El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama; but they continue their agitation both overtly and covertly.

Article 32 of the Guatemalan Constitution outlaws Communism but the party has virtual control of the entire governmental machinery, including the armed forces.

El Salvador and Honduras which border Guatemala are particularly sensitive to Communist agitation inspired by their neighbors.

There are historic reasons for the sensitivity and caution on the part of El Salvador. The Comintern almost succeeded with a Red Revolt in El Salvador in 1932. The softening up process was directed by agents of the Red International Aid in New York.

On January 21, 1932 an order was issued by the Communist leaders for the people of El Salvador to arm and rise against the constituted government. A general headquarters of the Red Army of El Salvador was established clandestinely in San Salvador.

By January 24, 1932 the Communists had captured four important towns, killed many people and looted residences and estates.

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General Jose Tomas Calderon led the loyal forces which converged on the towns and in one battle wiped out 4,000 rebels. The Communists launched another attack against Sonsonate and thousands of their followers were killed by machine gun fire.

Loyal troops marched on eleven towns where the Communists had known strong cells and party members were summarily executed.

National and regional leaders were shot or hanged after military trials. Three national leaders of the Communist high command were executed by firing squads in San Salvador. They were Augustin Farabundo Marti, Mario Zapata, and Alfonso Luna.

In December, 1952 the congress of El Salvador passed a stringent "Law of Defense of Democratic and Constitutional Order" after a scare of an attempted Communist revolt following a frontier meeting between President Oscar Osorio of El Salvador and President Jacobo Arbenz of Guatemala in September, 1952.

The first article of this law stipulates in part:

"The totalitarian or dissolvent doctrines, such as the Communists, Nazis, Fascists and Anarchists are contrary to democracy."

Penalties are fixed for agitators and propagandists and for those who seek to overthrow the government by force.

El Salvador Communists, such as Abel Cuenca, are very active in Guatemala and are very closely associated with the Guatemalan government.

Another El Salvador Communist, Pedro Geoffroy Rivas, has been residing for many years in Tapachula, Mexico, where he has been working closely with the Communist Party of Mexico. He headed the delegation from El Salvador to the Communist American Continental Peace Congress in Mexico in September, 1949.

He was one of the most vociferous shouters in praise of the Soviet

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Union. His cries of "Viva la URSS!" were surpassed by none.

The Communist Party of El Salvador heavily infiltrated the student movement in the National University until it controlled it. There is a strong underground Communist student movement today.

The Government of El Salvador confiscates Communist propaganda and keeps close vigil on movements of Guatemalans across the frontier. It has arrested Guatemalan congressmen with quantities of Communist propaganda, detained them several days and then placed them across the border back into their own country.

Honduras recently nipped in the bud a rising Communist movement by closing two of their newspapers, "Vanguardia Revolucionaria" and "Voz Obrera." These were not published as organs of the Communist Party but as front publications. The government of President Juan Manuel Galvez closed them early in October, 1953. The order was issued by the Commander of troops in Tegucigalpa.

The government announced that this action was taken because of the discovery of Communist activities which had culminated with the organization of the Honduran Communist Party prior to its action.

Vanguardia Revolucionaria was published by the Partido Democratico Revolucionario Hondureño (PRRH). The party first made its appearance late in 1949 with branches in Guatemala, where it had its headquarters; and in Honduras in San Pedro Sula and in Tegucigalpa. Its ideology was the same as that of the October Revolution of Guatemala, which included the fight for the economic liberation of Honduras, against the imperialism of the United States as exemplified by the operations of the United Fruit Company in the country, and the struggle for the establishment of a "peoples' democracy" similar to that of Guatemala.

"Voz Obrera" was published as the organ of the Comité Coordinador

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Obrero (Labor Coordinating Committee). This was controlled by a group of organized labor leaders. Its policy was extreme leftist, its propaganda line openly Communist in accordance with directives received from Guatemala.

Two of the officials of the publication Voz Obrero appeared in the list of organizers of the Communist Party of Honduras. They are Rodolfo Lopez D. and Carlos Bernhard. "Voz Obrero" admitted it was affiliated with the Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina (Latin American Confederation of Workers) headed by Vicente Lombardo Toledano in Mexico City.

"Vanguardia Revolucionaria" was edited by Jose Pineda Gomez, an attorney who, until the organization of the Communist Party of Honduras in September, 1953, did not admit to being a Communist. It published under the attractive slogan of: "For The National Liberation of Honduras."

It reprinted distorted news and comments furnished gratis by the Argentine embassy in Honduras through such Peronist propaganda outlets as Agencia Latina and the monthly magazine Verdad.

Voz Obrero frequently published "cultural" commentaries submitted by the Peronist labor attaches as well as the distorted news furnished by Agencia Latina.

The minimum program for the economic independence of Honduras was published September 5, 1952 by Vanguardia Revolucionaria. It included:

"1. Nationalization of all landed property, forests and mineral riches of every kind in order to satisfy the demands of Agrarian Reform.

"2. Democratic Agrarian Reform with the liquidation of land-holdings, in other words all lands or those exploited in feudal or semi-feudal manner.

"3. Revision of all existing concessions to nationals or foreigners, corporations or firms, for their subjection to the new constitutional order.

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"4. Nationalization of the public services of electrical communications and railways.

"5. Nationalization of all communication routes in the possession of private persons or corporations.

"6. Prohibition against the granting of new contracts to foreign companies for the exploitation of minerals, metals, hydrocarbons and forest products."

A week earlier, in its issue of August 30, 1952, "Voz Obrera" had this to say about the Agrarian Reform Law of Guatemala:

"One of the major conquests achieved by the October Revolution has been the enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law approved recently by the Government of Colonel Arbenz, and which has caused so many headaches to the creole and international reaction.

"As a show of solidarity towards the revindications obtained by the peoples' masses of Guatemala, this weekly begins to publish today on the third page the contents of so important a document."

In Nicaragua President Anastasio Somoza has kept a close check on the Communists. He has not permitted them to make such headway in infiltration of the schools and colleges. Communist professors and teachers have been deported and imprisoned from time to time. Frequently he has summarily placed Communists across neighboring frontiers with orders not to return to Nicaragua.

Four years of tension and friction existed between Nicaragua and Guatemala while Somoza refused to have diplomatic relations with the government of President Juan Jose Arevalo. He severed diplomatic relations when the Guatemalan government openly aided rebels to try to overthrow Somoza.

Somoza resumed diplomatic relations with the Arbenz government in 1951.

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Several of the Nicaraguan exiles in Mexico who are very active with the Communist Party of Mexico include Armando C. Amador and Professor Edelberto Torres.

Costa Rica liberated itself from Communist domination after a bloody civil war in 1948. Today with President Jose Figueres once again in power and with his platform of neo-socialism approved by the voters, Communism has an opportunity to infiltrate into his party of the National Liberation.

The Communist Party of Costa Rica attained its greatest influence after its fictitious dissolution by the Comintern in 1943. Manuel Mora Valverde, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Costa Rica, changed its name from Communist Party to Vanguardia Popular and entered into an armed truce with the Roman Catholic Church.

Mora wrote a letter to the late Monsignor Arturo Sanabria, Archbishop of Costa Rica in which, among other things, he asked the prelate whether Catholics would be permitted to join Vanguardia Popular.

Monsignor Sanabria promptly replied that the dissolution of the Communist Party and its replacement by Vanguardia Popular eliminated "conscientious conflicts which maintained the dissolved Communist Party and the church of Costa Rica irreconcilable."

Both Monsignor Sanabria and Mora accepted that hitherto "positive differences of principles" ceased to exist when the new party was organized. Monsignor Sanabria added that he based his action on an analysis of the new party platform which "safeguards, even though negatively, fundamental Catholic doctrines."

Early in 1948 Monsignor Sanabria explained this extraordinary position in an interview. He said he entered into the compact with Vanguardia Popular because the party "virtually accepted the *Rerum* <sup>my</sup> *Novarum*"



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Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII" in its declaration of principles. Because of that, he added, he did not think at the time the party was Communist.

The Communist Party of Costa Rica sadly reviewed the alliance with the Catholic Church at its National congress in late 1952. Oscar Vargas, Secretary of Organization, said in his report:

"Monsignor Sanabria did not agree to anything. He simply 'authorized' Catholics to join our party. This was almost "unnecessary because Catholics who wished to do so joined our party with or without authorization of the church. On the other hand we agreed not to fight the church. Hence the church was left a free hand to attack us, as it did, while we could not defend ourselves. It was a case of a tied donkey against a loose tiger and we were the donkey."

But because of World War II "friendship" between the United States and Soviet Russia, the Vanguardia Popular mushroomed its dues paying membership to 10,000 members, quite a percentage in a country of slightly less than one million inhabitants. It became a strong force in the government of President Rafael Angel Calderon Guardia and continued in the government of his successor, President Teodoro Picado. Mora was elected to congress.

Calderon Guardia and Picado were no Communists but the Communists had adeptly tied them to their strings. So much so that in the presidential campaign of 1947-1948 they played a predominant role.

The civil war erupted after the presidential election was stolen from Otilio Ulate, Editor and Publisher of the newspaper "Diario de Costa Rica" and operator of the "Voz de la Victoria" radio station. Two strange alliances were affected during the civil war.

One was between General Anastasio Somoza, strong man of Nicaragua at the time (although not in the presidency) and President Picado. The

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other was between Jose Figueres Ferrer, a Ulate supporter, and President Arevalo of Guatemala.

Somoza intervened on the side of the Picado government and furnished troops, arms and ammunition to help defeat the Ulate forces led by Figueres. Near the end of the civil war and while the Pan-American Conference was in session at Bogota, Colombia, Nicaraguan forces invaded Costa Rica to support the crumbling Picado government. They made an airborne landing 50 miles from the capital, San Jose, but Somoza was forced to withdraw the troops because of the furor created at the Bogota Conference over the invasion.

Prior to that Somoza had sent members and officers of his Guardia Nacional, the army, on detached service into Costa Rica to fight with the loyalist forces of the Picado government. He also sold arms and ammunitions to the government.

Somoza's reasons for this were two-fold: he feared the Figueres-Arevalo alliance, which was aimed at ousting him after the victory in Costa Rica; he felt that he could control Picado and have a friendly government to the south and then Picado could tackle the Communist problem later.

The moment the news reached San Jose of Somoza's April invasion of Costa Rica, Mora ordered the Communists to lay down their arms and fight no more. Their resistance was to be token only, to hold their positions, until a truce could be made with the aid of the diplomatic corps.

President Arevalo intervened on the side of Figueres and furnished arms and ammunition and helped ferry weapons to Costa Rica that were the property of exiles from the Dominican Republic who resided in Guatemala and later constituted the Caribbean Legion.

Arevalo had a tacit agreement with the leaders of the Caribbean Legion, who proved to be mainly Dominican and Nicaraguan exiles, to support

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the Figueres uprising. Figueres agreed to back an invasion of Nicaragua from Costa Rica. After the conquest of Nicaragua by the revolutionaries of that country, Honduras was to be invaded and the government there was to be overthrown.

Then the Caribbean coast of Central America from Guatemala to the Panama frontier was to be one long supply base for an invasion of the Dominican Republic and the overthrow of President Rafael Leonidas Trujillo. Otilio Ulate was neither a party to, nor aware of, those plans until the civil war ended. He never became a party to the proposed invasion plans from Costa Rica into Nicaragua.

The Communist strength in Costa Rica rested in its control of the Costa Rican Confederation of Labor (CTCR) from which it formed the shock brigades for action. The CTCR was the only organized federation in the country. From among the ranks of this body most of the government troops were conscripted during the civil war.

Before the civil war ended Mora was in full control of San Jose, the capital. He had virtual undisputed command of the city. It was saved from destruction by the anti-communist rebel force only through the intervention of the diplomatic corps. In this then American Ambassador Nathaniel Penimore Davis played a major role.

Following the capitulation arranged by the diplomatic corps, Mora flew into exile to Mexico together with several other party leaders, including Carlos Luis Fallas and Julio Lopez Masegosa, a Spanish Communist.

The Communist Party was outlawed. Figueres ruled as Provisional President of the Junta of the Second Republic, a name given by him, for eighteen months by virtue of an agreement with Ulate in order to effect his socialistic experiments. Those experiments nearly wrecked the economy of the country.

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Shortly after the CTCR was outlawed it filed suit to recover lawful operations. The labor court dismissed the suit, after a lengthy delay and comprehensive study, on the grounds that the confederation was a political arm of the Communist Party. It cited this fact by quoting an extract from a report of the Politburo of the Communist Party to justify the verdict. The extract follows:

"The CTCR has been converted into a simple name that vegetates in the shadow of the party. The errors of the party are reflected in the CTCR, and the weaknesses of the CTCR are reflected in the failure of the party as a vanguard of the working class."

The court also decreed the dissolution of the affiliated unions of the CTCR. These included the aviation, public works, municipal workers, nurses, doctors and social security unions, all of which were controlled by the CTCR.

In 1946 the Reverend Benjamin Nuñez, who was to become Figueres' labor minister, organized the Costa Rican Confederation of Labor Rerum Novarum (CCT) to counter the Communists. In 1950 this confederation, which was struggling to gain ascendancy in the labor movement although its leaders were unable to cope with the Communist leaders in organizational ability, voiced its protest against a new menace--Peronist penetration in the country, which was playing hand in glove with the Communists.

Ten delegates, tools of the Argentine labor attaches, tried to take over the CCT in the balloting at its July 31, 1950 National Congress. They represented four unions. They were kicked out and, as they left the hall they hurled threats and insults at the delegates who remained.

An anti-Communist and anti-Peronist executive committee was elected. Before adjournment a resolution was adopted which condemned the totalitarian efforts to disrupt the labor movement. It read in part:

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"This assembly empowers the recently-elected executive committee of the confederation to request all affiliated unions to oust all persons of Peronist, Communist, Neo-Fascist or other anti-democratic creed. The executive committee is further empowered to expel any union which refuses to conform with this request."

The executive committee acted promptly. A strong protest was addressed to the Argentine ambassador in which the two labor attaches of his embassy were accused of abusing their diplomatic status and intervening directly in the internal affairs of Costa Rican labor movement. The note, which also accused the labor attaches of striving to create hostility against the United States, concluded:

"We cannot allow the paid officials of any government to interfere in our labor movement, particularly when such interference aims at separating us from the democratic world groups."

In 1952 the CCT went on record and condemned Peronist attempts to bribe some of their leaders to join a Latin American Confederation (ATLAS) sponsored by the Argentine Confederation of Labor (CCT), which is President Juan Peron's labor arm. The CCT issued a statement of this decision which read in part:

"We denounce this attempt of the Argentine dictator to colonize the democratic trade union movement of Latin America, just as we denounced the attempts of the Communists to intervene in the trade union and political life of our countries for the purpose of destroying the dignity and self-determination of our peoples. We must be alert against this neo-fascism which is seeking supporters in our midst. For the time being the fascist imperialism of Peron is merely seeking political and trade union influence, but when the tin comes it will not hesitate to take up arms and become a worse danger than are the Communists.

"Further proof of this danger is the fact that in addition to the ideas

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and bribes which the Peronists offer with which to corrupt the Latin American trade union movement, they use the Communist tactic of a campaign against so-called Yankee Imperialism. We must point out that political imperialism is more dangerous than economic. Peron, like Stalin, has ordered his agents to launch the slogan of fighting Yankee Imperialism as a smokescreen to hide his own imperialism.

"Our confederation, conscious of its duties and responsibilities, always has been and will be against economic imperialism, be it that of the United States or any other country; but it has been and will continue to be against political and trade union imperialism, such as that in which the Peron government is engaging, and against the political, trade union and economic imperialism of Soviet Russia. The latter two are tending increasingly to converge and cooperate."

This was the first concrete evidence of close alliance abroad of Peronism and Communism. Communist leaders in Central America have been receiving financial aid from Argentine labor attaches in exchange for the intensification of the hate campaign against "Yankee Imperialism." This campaign has subsided a little, on the part of the Peronists, since the recent "honeymoon" between Peron and the United States. We can anticipate a resumption of intense activities along this line on a "friendly" basis, pointing out that there is no longer open hostility with the United States but undermining from within by pushing and needling the natives towards the goal of "economic independence" and ridding themselves of the "imperialist" corporations doing business within their countries.

Although outlawed, the Communists in Costa Rica gingerly regrouped their ranks and resumed operations. They organized women, youth and student fronts and renewed work among the labor unions. These fronts were organized by some of the sixty leaders of national and regional scale who were jailed after Figueres assumed power.

The Communists published their weekly newspaper "Trabajo"

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(Labor) in mimeographed form.

They published "TEA", organ of the Revolutionary Youth League and "NOSOTRAS", organ of the Carmen Lyra Women's Union. Carmen Lyra was the top feminine Communist in Central America until her death in exile in Mexico on May 14, 1949. A native Costa Rican, she was famous for her children's books.

After Ulate assumed office as constitutional President on November 8, 1949, he permitted the exiled Communist leaders to return home from Mexico. He soon came under fire from several priest of the Roman Catholic Church, of which he is a devout member, because of this. He made short shrift of the controversy when he wrote:

"I swore to uphold the constitution. Our constitution prohibits the exile of any Costa Rican citizen. I am certain that you would not want me to violate either my oath or the spirit and letter of the constitution written by our legislators and which I took my oath to defend."

Mora, still Secretary General of the Communist Party of Costa Rica, returned home. He was followed by Carlos Luis Fallas, a member of the Central Committee, and Rodolfo Guzman, Moscow-trained labor leader.

Fallas was the first to deliver a lecture after his return. It dealt with the proposed Nicaraguan Canal. In March, 1950, in Montevideo, Uruguay, at a meeting of the Southern Labor Conference of the CTAL, Vicente Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, the Voice of Soviet Russia for Latin America, laid down the party line on this subject. He called for a fight to combat the plans of the United States to build such a canal.

Fallas spoke behind closed doors on April 20, 1950, under the sponsorship of the Carmen Lyra Women's Front. His topic was: "The Nicaraguan Canal and our Sovereignty."

Fallas said in part:

"I consider that the construction of the Nicaraguan Canal at present

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in any manner whatsoever and no matter what may be the conditions that the United States imposes on us, due to the world situation and taking into account the foreign policy of the United States, signifies without doubt the slavery and debasement of the Costa Rican people and of all the peoples of Central America.

"Without distinction of political factions, religious creed or social status, all honest and patriotic Costa Ricans should form a united front against the threat which the Nicaraguan Canal signifies for our independence."

In its reorganizational work in the underground, the Communist Party of Costa Rica is still smarting under the severe criticism it received from Luiz Carlos Prestes, Cominform director for South America and Secretary General of the outlawed Brazilian Communist Party.

Prestes sent his criticism to Costa Rica through one of the party's underground couriers after an exhaustive study of the 1948 civil war. A comprehensive reply was sent to Prestes in his secret hideout by party leaders who had remained in Costa Rica. They blamed both party leadership and the CTAL for their failure:

"We did not do everything possible to secure international support," they told Prestes. "It was aggravated by the slowness and inefficiency of the CTAL to foster international mass action. We especially neglected the organization of labor cells. Repression has shown us in practice what we already knew in theory. Labor cells are stronger and more resistant than intellectual cells."

The party is trying to strengthen its organization. Oscar Vargas, Secretary of Organization, reported at the National Congress of the party late in 1952:

"The party comes above all. If it is well organized, if it is ideologi-



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cally well equipped, it can successfully confront legality and illegality without losing contact with the masses. The party is a school of revolutionaries to destroy capitalism and build socialism and not a charitable institution nor an agency to secure well paid public office. Now is the time for vigilance to prevent the penetration of hangers-on and riff-raff. We are approaching the final stage of capitalism and hence the enemy avails himself of every means to demoralize us.

"The key to our movement of national liberation, as we were just shown by the Chinese Communist Party, lies in the organization and laying the foundation for an alliance between the laboring classes and rural workers under the leadership of the working class through its party. This is fundamental to guarantee victory for the revolution.

"The platform of National Liberation and of Agrarian Reform of Vanguardia Popular should cover the problem decisively in a revolutionary manner without timidity, looking towards the alliance of the rural population with the working classes. We shall not be able to develop a mass rural movement on a national scale as long as we pretend to interest them in public land. They are not interested in them because they are little or no good. They are only interested in land already opened up to cultivation. It is along these lines that we should present our demands for Agrarian Reform."

The By-Laws of the Communist Party of Costa Rica were amended to prohibit any party member from leaving Costa Rica without the written permission of the party.

The party tried to stage a comeback in the 1953 presidential election campaign in Costa Rica. It backed the opposition candidate, Fernando Castro Cervantes, 72, a millionaire cattle man. Castro Cervantes did not disavow the support.

The Congress of Costa Rica, a unicameral house, passed a bill almost

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on the eve of the end of the campaign, which outlawed the Communist Party, which had attempted to register under the name of the Partido Progresista Independiente (Independent Progressive Party) with the short letters of PPI. President Ulate signed the bill into law reluctantly forty-eight hours before the elections were held because he feels that Communism should be combatted by an enlightened citizenry which should fight it militantly at the polls.

The PPI leaders, who had nominated five candidates for Congress, ordered its partisans to continue to campaign for the election of Castro Cervantes, whom it supported to the very end.

The PPI held a rally in Morazan Park in San Jose on the night of July 22, 1953 to announce publicly its support of Castro Cervantes. Only 500 persons attended. The party candidates for congress spoke. The star of the evening was Joaquin Garcia Monge, who has a reputation throughout Latin America as Editor and Publisher of "Reportorio Americano," an intellectual literary publication, and as a university professor.

Three of the other four candidates were also professors. They were Carlos Luis Saenz, Juan Jose Carazo and Rafael Angel Ilubere. Saenz fought in the Spanish Civil War. The fifth candidate was a labor leader Don Bernardo Garcia.

The Communist Party of Costa Rica has very close ties with the Communist Party of Mexico and the liaison activities are handled in Mexico through Vicente Saenz, an intellectual who is a Costa Rican citizen, and Julio Lopez Masegosa, the Spanish Communist.

Guatemala has not assumed the actual leadership of Communist operations for Central America but does serve as a clearing house for the party.

When the Ubico dictatorship was overthrown in 1944 a Constitutional Congress was elected to write a new constitution. The new constitution was enacted March 13, 1945. Article 32 reads:

"The right of association for the different purposes of human life is

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guaranteed in accordance with law. The establishment of conventual congregations and of every kind of monastic institution or association, as well as the formation and operation of political organizations of international or foreign nature are prohibited. Not included in this prohibition are the organizations that advocate the Central American Union or continental solidarity."

The most distinguished Guatemalan lawyers have insisted that the above automatically outlaws the Communist Party because it is international. But the Communists have employed a legalistic subterfuge to assist the government--which has repeatedly ignored the demands of anti-Communist groups during the last four years that Communist activity be curbed--to attempt to cover the party by the exception contained in Article 32 although the Cominform has announced its opposition to this union except under a "people's democracy."

The door to Communist domination of Guatemala was opened by Juan Jose Arevalo. Arevalo was President of Guatemala from 1945 to 1951.

Arevalo was born in Taxisco, Department of Santa Rosa, Guatemala, in 1904. The Guatemalan government awarded him a scholarship in 1927 to study pedagogy at the University of La Plata in Argentina.

In 1934 he graduated as a Doctor of Philosophy and Pedagogy and returned to Guatemala. His classmate at the University of La Plata was Raul Osegueda, a fellow Guatemalan

President Jorge Ubico promptly appointed Arevalo as Chief Clerk of the Department of Education. In 1936, adverse to the Ubico dictatorship, Arevalo left Guatemala and returned to Argentina.

Arevalo's name appeared in 1936 as a member of the Provisional Supreme Council of the American Teachers' International, a Latin American Communist teachers' front. It listed affiliates in Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay and Uruguay. Its headquarters were at No. 148 J. E. Uribe Street,

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Buenos Aires, Argentina.

This organization was founded on January 16, 1928 in Buenos Aires. It listed affiliation with the International Educational Workers. The IEW had headquarters in Paris. It was a dependency of the Communist International Youth Movement, which operated under directions from the Comintern Youth headquarters in Moscow.

The Secretary of the Provisional Supreme Council of the American Teachers' International was Cesar Godoy Urrutia, a Chilean professor and member of the Communist Party of Chile.

Arevalo never has admitted publicly he is a Communist. He prefers to call himself a "spiritual socialist."

Arevalo had an extensive career in Argentine universities. In 1937 he was appointed Professor of Literature at the University of Tucuman. In 1939 he was named Associate Professor of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires. In 1942 he became Technical Director of the Normal School and was founder of the Pedagogic Institute of San Luis, both dependencies of the University of Cuyo in the Province of Mendoza.

In 1943 he was elevated to the post of Professor of Pedagogy in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Mendoza. In 1944 he replaced Don Lorenzo Lazuriaga, a Spaniard, as Professor of Pedagogy at the University of Tucuman.

While in that post Arevalo was nominated, in absentia, as candidate for the presidency of Guatemala by two newly formed leftist parties. These were the Renovacion Nacional (National Reform) and the Frente Popular Libertador (Peoples' Freedom Front) parties.

Arevalo accepted the nomination and flew to Guatemala to campaign. He left his Argentine school teacher wife, Dona Elisa Martinez de Arevalo, in Buenos Aires to await the results.

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Arevalo won an overwhelmingly popular victory against two rival candidates. He polled 256,511 votes. Adrian Recinos received 22,050 votes. Manuel Herrera received 9,937 votes. Arevalo was in Argentina when the final returns were announced.

He made a triumphal tour of farewells in the Argentine provinces. Then he flew to Guatemala to be acclaimed the hero of a people who had just tasted their first morsels of political freedom in fifteen years.

Arevalo's troubles began quickly. Many Guatemalans soon discovered he was trying to steer the ship of state very hard to port. There were twenty-three attempts or plots to overthrow him in six years.

In a written question and answer interview in 1947 Arevalo asserted he was anti-Communist and that there was no Communist danger in the country.

"I understand," he was asked, "that the CTAL whose chief is Vicente Lombardo Toledano has scheduled its convention to be held in this city in the month of November. The CTAL, it is said, has Communist roots. Is it true that the Government of Guatemala has given permission to the CTAL to hold its convention?"

Arevalo refused to reduce to writing the answer to that specific question. Instead, he replied verbally that the convention would not be held. He did reply in writing to all the other questions. But the convention was not held at that time because Lombardo Toledano had found it necessary to postpone it.

Arevalo's reply to a supplementary question which dealt with CTAL influence was:

"The reactionaries who are the opposition to Guatemalan democracy have tried to distort the sense of a democratic movement of social and economic revindication of the working classes, painting it as Communist when, in reality, it is a legitimate struggle of classes, until today exploited,

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so that they may acquire the rights which are granted them by all the civilized countries of the world. As I have stated in other speeches, Guatemala is not a favorable atmosphere for Communism, due not only to the sentiments of its inhabitants and to its fervor for democracy, but to its lack of industrialization. I don't believe there exists a Communist danger in Guatemala, but if in the future it should arise, my government will take all the measures necessary to counteract it within the constitution and the laws."

The above statement was purely for export. Shortly after this interview with Arevalo, he replaced moderate Eugenio Silva Pëna as foreign minister with Enrique Muñoz Meany, a friend of Moscow. Muñoz Meany was to serve Moscow well in that post. He died in 1952.

Another question put to Arevalo was answered with double talk. It was:

"Do you believe that there exists some Communist plan for the domination of Latin America in the same manner that certain countries have been, and are being, dominated in Eastern Europe?"

Arevalo answered:

"I have no knowledge that there exists any Communist plan for the domination of Latin America. The countries of Spanish America are not propitious to the Communist thesis. I understand that, in general, these are social movements of proletarian revindication that have no root with properly Communist doctrines."

Arevalo signed a secret agreement with President-elect Carlos Prío Socarras of Cuba and Provisional President Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela to work in close alliance to overthrow the governments of General Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua; President Tiburcio Carías Andino of Honduras and President Rafael Leonidas Trujillo of the Dominican Republic.

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This alliance, and the refusal of Colonel Francisco Javier Arana, Commander of the Armed Forces of Guatemala, to go along with it, was an indication of the swing to the far left effected after the appointment of Muñoz Meany and to produce the assassination of the one man who could have eradicated the Communist bridgehead in that country.

Soon after Arevalo took office secret members of the Communist Party, very close to the president, organized a front political party under the name of Partido Accion Revolucionario (Revolutionary Action Party) with the short letters of PAR. One of the principal organizers and elected a party functionary was Jose Manuel Fortuny, who had worked in the press section of the British Legation in Guatemala in 1940 and 1941.

Fortuny became most active in government quarters and began to travel the length and breadth of the country. Arevalo soon appointed known Communists to high government posts, among them Luis Cardoza y Aragon, a writer, who was named minister in Latin America and later sent to France in the same category. Another was Carlos Manuel Pellecer, who was appointed secretary of the Guatemalan embassy in Paris.

Colonel Arana reached the twilight of his life in June, 1949, when he refused to permit two twin-engine transport aircraft and a FBV medium bomber of the Guatemalan Air Force to take off from bases within the country with men, arms and ammunition to invade the Dominion Republic until Arevalo gave him the order in writing.

Figueres' obligations with the Caribbean Legion to invade Nicaragua had failed to produce results and the entire plot was smoked out by Somoza when he opened his southern frontier and shoved a revolutionary force of Costa Ricans, aided by a handful of Nicaraguan National Guardsmen, to start a war with the Figueres government.

That movement produced a quick denunciation by Costa Rica in the Council of the Organization of American States and an investigation that ended the

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official support by Figueres of the Caribbean Legion, which was quartered in a barracks in the center of San Jose and paid by the government over the protests of many citizens.

Arevalo gave Arana the order in writing to dispatch the aircraft. The invasion fizzled. The FBY was successful in landing at Luperon Bay on the north coast of the Dominican Republic. It discharged Colonel Horacio Ornes Coiscou, the commander of the expedition and a Dominican, with a handful of invaders and guns and bullets.

The other two aircraft were forced down by bad weather at Campeche, Yucatan. President Trujillo denounced the invasion. He ordered his loyal forces to repel it.

The FBY was destroyed by one of Trujillo's patrol boats in Luperon Bay. The two C-47's of the Guatemalan Air Force were interned with their crews and troops by the Mexican government. Thirty days later, on July 18, 1949, Arana was dead.

The plot to assassinate Arana was an open secret in Guatemala and in the Caribbean. The Dominican Radio broadcast warnings to Arana almost nightly shortly after July 1, 1949 that there was a plot to assassinate him. Arana's distaste for Trujillo's dictatorship made him incredulous.

Arana was an avowed Communist hater. He was known throughout Guatemala as an anti-Communist and the most prominent candidate to succeed Arevalo. He had clashed with Arevalo several times over the latter's interventionist policy which had kept Central America and the Caribbean in constant political chaos and revolutionary turmoil. He had made no secret of his aims to rid the country of the mounting Communist influence once he rose to the presidency.

Arana was ambushed at the Rio Michatoya Bridge near Lake Amatitlan, twelve miles from the capital. He was killed by gunfire, as he left his station wagon, by his assailants who ordered his hands into the air. Bullets penetrated each of his wrists and three bullet holes were across his chest when his body was found four hours later.



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A spontaneous revolt erupted five hours later after some of Arana's army friends learned the details of his murder. The spontaneity and reasons for the revolt, which lasted 24 hours, were distorted by the government's Communist propagandists.

Carlos Manuel Pellecer had returned from his post in France to assume an active role in the party machinery. He became editor of "El Libertador," the official organ of Arevalo's FAR party, a post obtained for him by Fortuny. He was also Director of the Cultural Division of the Foreign Office.

At a mass meeting in front of the presidential palace on the night of July 19, 1949, Pellecer harangued thousands of workers with a scorching attack against "Yankee Imperialism and the Government of the United States of North America." He accused the United States of inspiring the revolt to try to overthrow Arevalo.

Ambassador Richard G. Patterson Jr. marched to the foreign office the next day and filed a formal protest with Foreign Minister Enrique Muñoz Meany. He demanded to know whether Pellecer voiced the opinion of the government. Patterson was assured Pellecer spoke for himself, but the faux pas was so flagrant that Pellecer was sent back to Paris as secretary of embassy again.

Muñoz Meany has said Arana was killed because he was "an enemy of the revolution." Answering a direct question, he said: "The government did not kill Arana but friends of the government did."

Muñoz Meany predicted that Lieutenant Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, Minister of Defense, who witnessed the ambush of Arana from an observation post overlooking the river, would succeed Arevalo as president because he was and is "a friend of the revolution."

Arana, Arbenz and Jorge Toriello were the young triumvirate that ruled Guatemala after the overthrow of the Ubico regime. Guillermo Toriello, brother of the latter, is now Ambassador to Washington.

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The friends of Arana had the Arevalo government pinned down in the presidential palace. While emissaries sent by Arevalo to the Embassy of El Salvador were negotiating a truce with the rebels, Arevalo, employing a Communist tactic which Red China was to use in the Korean War, brought workers in from the provinces and armed them and crushed the rebels.

Arevalo closed all newspapers and radio stations. He ordered the government printing office to convert the Official Gazette, "Diario de la Centro America," into a tabloid newspaper to be published at government expense. Then he made it a full size newspaper. It carried above page one the line: "The Official Spokesman of the Revolution."

Arevalo also ordered the government printing office to publish a full size morning newspaper at government expense. Thus "Diario de la Mañana" was founded. Arevalo named as its editor Julio Estrada de la Hoz, a member of the Communist Party, and the newspaper followed the party line. Estrada de la Hoz was later to be elected President of Congress and was in line to succeed Arbenz until his tenure ran out and a new President of Congress, also a party man, succeeded him.

Two weeks before Arana was murdered Cesar Godoy Urrutia, the Chilean Communist professor, arrived in Guatemala on one of his periodic visits to his old friend Arevalo. He had been expelled from Chile with several other Communists by President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla under the Law of Defense of Democracy.

Although Godoy Urrutia had no official or unofficial diplomatic representation from Chile, but, on the contrary, was outlawed therefrom, Foreign Minister Enrique Muñoz Meany sent his Chief of Protocol to the airport to extend an official welcome to him and courtesy of the port at the instruction of Arevalo. Godoy was escorted to his hotel by the Chief of Protocol in the foreign office limousine.

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The week prior to Arana's murder Godoy delivered a lecture in the meeting hall of the government's National Lottery building. The talk was sponsored by three government parties and six Communist front and labor groups. The government parties were PAR, RN and FPL. The front groups were: SAMF, the Railway Workers Union; STEG, the Teachers' Union; the Democratic Youth Alliance; the Saker-Ti Group, a union of intellectuals, artists and writers; the Departmental Workers Federation and the Guatemalan Confederation of Labor (CTG).

Members of Arevalo's cabinet, Arevalo's private secretary and Arevalo's press secretary attended the lecture. Godoy proposed the creation of a new Communist front organization with headquarters in Guatemala. He called it: "Frente Unico Para la Liberacion de los Pueblos de America Latina". In English this is "Only Front for the Liberation of the Peoples of Latin America" with the short letters of FULPA. Godoy announced the purpose of this new organization was to organize and direct the overthrow of all governments in the Western Hemisphere that are anathema to Communism.

When Arevalo eased the news blackout two weeks after the murder of Arana, newspapers which were considered unfriendly to the government were required to submit two page proofs in advance to the censorship office. The censors killed all stories and advertisements which displeased them. Editors were forbidden to leave blank columns in censored pages. Editors were compelled to send the first two copies of the press run to the censorship office for approval prior to further printing and circulation.

Arevalo included the immolation of his military commander in his annual report to the congress in March, 1950. He shed no tears over Arana's demise. He reported to the Congress, in part, as follows:

"The 18th of July, after the death of Colonel Arana, civilian elements penetrated the area of the Guardia de Honor Armored Regiment and persuaded the chiefs of the fort to rebel against the constituted government. Successive attacks were launched against the military base of La Aurora, the military air force, the national palace, the presidential residence and the civil guard,

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Tanks and machine gun groups scoured the city from five o'clock that afternoon until three o'clock the next afternoon. Heavy artillery units were posted at the eastern end of the city and initiated a bombardment that caused damage to private homes and many deaths among the non-combatant population.

"At the first signs of the rebellion, the executive power, meeting in plenary cabinet session, delegated to Lieutenant Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, Defense Minister and Acting Commander of the Armed Forces, the military leadership of the defense operations and the corresponding control in the entire republic.

"Workers from the west and from the southern coast began to mobilize towards the capital city. The military command of the loyal forces operated with admirable tact and serenity.

"While the military base deployed its forces around the armored regiment in order to surround it and silence it, the air force carried out its activity, realizing flights over the fort and dropping, courageously, explosives within the building. A few hours after this fight the bombarded fort began to be abandoned by the civilian leaders, promoters of the uprising, and finally by its military leaders who, under the subterfuge of diplomatic intervention, refuged themselves in an embassy.

"When the loyal troops occupied the building, the garrison of the fort was scant, while in the environs of the capital and by railroad the workers and peasants flocked in--in defense of the government.

"This report does not enter into an extensive analysis of the acts produced on July 18 and 19. But the National Army of the Revolution, the air force which is a part of it, the civil guard, the revolutionary parties and the labor organizations put the National Revolution of October on the highest pedestal in America.

"The revolutionary parties and the labor organizations were in their posts, either of reserve or of combatant action, at the side of the soldiers, forming a powerful and incorruptible national front.

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"As President of the Nation, having seen besides me the military and civilian youth in hours of true civic test such as that, I must confess with pride that Guatemala has created a democratic breeding and has aroused continental admiration. This is confirmed by the applause that renowned personalities of Latin America have sent to my government because of the July defense."

Most of the personalities to whom Arevalo referred were the Communist leaders of Latin America.

In making that report to the Congress Arevalo overlooked several historic truths, especially a 44-page booklet published by his own press office on August 5, 1949. This publication was called "A Fireproof Democracy." It was written by Mario Monteforte Toledo, a congressman, and Jose Santacruz Noriega, a government employee. It was printed at the government printing office.

"The Army G-2," the booklet says, attempting to justify the murder of Arana, "was informed as early as July 15 that a new coup d'etat was imminent."

That statement is absurd because Arana was army commander and his G-2 would have reported such intelligence to him. The booklet unleashed a smear campaign against the murdered Arana in the government press and over the government radio.

Although the assassins of Arana were definitely identified by Arana's chauffeur, no one was arrested for the crime.

Arana had learned of a cache of arms which the Arevalo followers had been storing at a secluded depot some miles from the Rio Michatoya. He demanded Arevalo turn them over to him for use by the army instead of pursuing a Communist plan to arm workers' shock brigades and use the surplus to stimulate revolts in neighboring republics.

Arevalo's only popular support in Guatemala after the murder of Arana came from the Communists and fellow travelers, then a small minority.

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In September, 1949, Muñoz Mearny issued official passports to 32 Guatemalans to fly to Mexico to attend the American Continental Peace Congress ordered by Moscow. The chief organizer of that peace congress was Vicente Lombardo Teledano.

There were officially designated representatives of the major political parties which backed Arevalo included in the peace congress delegation. Among them was Jose Manuel Fortuny and Bernardo Alvaro Monzon, who represented P.A.I. Monzon also registered at the congress as a delegate for the new front which Cesar Godoy Urrutia had organized. Antonio Galich represented the FPL and Luis Asturias Carillo represented the RN.

The Guatemalan Confederation of Labor (CTG) held its Sixth Congress just prior to the departure of the delegates. Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Secretary General, and Manuel Pinto Usaga, another top labor leader, later flew to Mexico to attend the congress.

Other Guatemalans who attended included: Francisco Hernandez, Secretary General of the Syndicate of Workers of the Leather Industry (STIC); Alfredo Guerra Borges, Secretary General of the Syndicate of Intellectual Workers and Revolutionary Artists (STIAR); Felix Humberto Ortiz, representing the Syndicate of Educational Workers of Guatemala (STEG); Professor Jose Rivera Toledo, Assistant Secretary General of the National Committee for Peace and a leader of the university student movement; Evangelina Acuña, poetess and member of the National Committee for Peace; Benjamin Cordero, Roberto Paz y Paz, Rene Augusto Flores and Enrique Torres, representing the Saker-Ti intellectual group.

The Democratic Youth Alliance sent the largest single group, excluding the labor representation. Its delegates included: Roberto Bran Maldonado, Carlos Navarrete, Humberto Flores, Carlos Rene-Valle, Jorge Alvarado, Alfonso Alvarado, Jorge Mario Garcia, Jorge E. V. Ubico and Guillermo Vivar.

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Fortuny was selected by the Communist high command to develop the fourth point of the general doctrine of the congress: "The National Sovereignty of Countries and Independence of the Colonies of the American Continent in Relation to Peace and War." He did so on September 7, 1949, and ranted against the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact, the Rio Treaty, and Yankee Imperialism.

But a few weeks after Fortuny and the other delegates returned from the Mexico City peace congress, the Communist Party emerged from the underground and announced itself publicly. It published a weekly newspaper Octubre. The name was depicted in a flaming red flag to the left of which was a red star and a hammer and sickle. Beneath it was this line: "For a Great Communist Party, Vanguard of the Toilers, the Peasants and the People."

Fortuny was listed as editor. Alfredo Guerra Borges, Secretary General of STIAR, was listed as News Editor. The staff members included: Mario A. Silva Jonama, Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, Pedro Fernandez, Jose Luis Ramos, Humberto Ortiz, Rogelio Lopez, Antonio Ardon and Carlos Rene Valle. The latter was listed as Business Manager. Each of the editorial staff members held a key government job. All had attended the Mexico City peace congress.

Octubre opened its pages with tirades against the United States and all business firms in Guatemala.

Despite this, Arevalo appointed Fortuny as a member of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, in January, 1950. Fortuny was sworn in on February 22, and was one of the supervisors of the presidential elections that year.

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Arevalo's PAR party held its national convention in February, 1950. Its platform contained these planks which the candidate was committed to accept:

"LABOR--The labor movement is oriented in the same direction in domestic policy as well as in foreign policy.

"FOREIGN CAPITAL--The imperialist firms, International Railways of Central America, United Fruit Company, etc., which in 1944 were forced to maintain a neutral position in the politics of our country, are again militating in the reactionary camp with more activity than ever.

"WORLD REVOLUTION--We meet at a time when the Chinese people have consummated the difficult task of expelling from their soil the foreign oppressor, planting thereby the roots of a new civilization. We meet at a time when the Chilean people have risen against oppression and terror in order to demonstrate to Latin America that the forces of liberty are unlimited and that there are no governments strong enough to subsist when they lack the consensus of popular opinion.

"We meet at a time when the proletariat of the United States is carrying out one of the greatest strike struggles of all time (note: the copper strike was on then), proving that North American imperialism is not only the enemy of other peoples but also of the North American people. This means that the forces of democracy are powerful and that their strength spreads and increases with time. Each people is realizing its own task of liberation, and the Guatemalan people have to fulfill theirs. This is a question of national honor and we must comply with it with honor!"

The National Executive Committee of PAR stipulated its candidate must fulfill the following minimum requirements:

"1. Be a man probably consistent with the national democratic movement, a loyal collaborator of the government of Arevalo and have to his credit the affection and gratitude of the masses of the people.



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"2. A man of the October Revolution and a man probably respectful of the political constitution who must not have any economic or political ties with foreign companies, with feudal landowners, with the bankers or with the sectors of big business.

"3. A man who has never opposed the domestic unity of the democratic parties or the unity of the democratic forces and who must be a guarantee of the democratic unity between the people and the armed forces of the republic.

"4. He must accept in advance with sincerity and responsibility the program of government action that the democratic forces present to him and he must not be a sectarian candidate so that centralized agreement can be achieved."

The PAR then underscored these three fundamental planks in the platform which its candidate was obligated to translate into action:

"1. LAND REFORM--The legislation on land reform must be promulgated in the first year of government of the new presidential term. It must be inspired in the recognition of the right of the peasants to the land that they till so that the land can be distributed among the peasant masses in such a manner and quantity that enables them to be freed from the feudal yoke and the misery in which they live at present. Without land reform the republic will be exposed to the most intense penetration on the part of imperialism. With serious danger for the national sovereignty.

"2. THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM--Imperialism is no phantom. In our country imperialism is represented by the amount of monopolistic foreign capital invested in the country and which controls the fundamental branches of Guatemalan economy; by the foreign firms and companies (branches of international monopolies) that operate in Guatemala and extract insatiably the basic springs of national wealth; by the onerous and frequently unconstitutional concessions that shelter the activity of those companies; by the

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trade treaties existing between Guatemala and other more developed industrial countries whose operation does not permit the development of the economic, industrial, agricultural and commercial possibilities of our country; by the interference of foreign companies in the domestic politics of our country and by their stubborn and systematic opposition to the compliance of the laws of the republic; by the interference, each time more emphatic, of foreign elements in the technical and administrative direction of hospitals, schools, and other centers of popular education, with the complicity of the most reactionary press of the country; and, by those international agreements and treaties that tax, limit or deform the exercise of the national sovereignty and which in a more ample sphere contradicts the letter and spirit of the United Nations.

"All these forces combined constitute imperialism in Guatemala and against them there must be a tireless fight. This fight can be realized through the direct action of the workers of the foreign companies, through the diplomatic activity of the revision of concessions and contracts, through the strict compliance with the laws of the republic, through the systematic recovery of national lands which, because of pending debts with the Guatemalan State are found, unduly, in the hands of the foreign companies, and through the mobilization of all the people in support of these revindications appropriate of the sovereignty of our country.

"3. IN THE INTERNATIONAL FIELD--The PAR will demand of the new government a policy that coincides with the aspirations of peace of all the peoples; that strengthens and defends the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter; that favors and strengthens trade relations with all countries that want to trade with ours on a basis of reciprocal benefit; a policy that denounces the sham of all those pacts, treaties and American agreements which, under the pretext of maintaining the unity of the western democratic world, prevent the liquidation of colonialism in Latin America;

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a foreign policy of respect of the sovereignty of the peoples and of the right of their self-determination; a policy of friendship with all the democratic governments; a policy that opposes the military penetration of any power or powers that want to convert Central America into a base of warlike operations; a Central American policy of economic coordination of the material, industrial and commercial resources of progressive nature which, starting from the integration of a common economy, advances later towards political unity, and rejects all unitarian policy that is planned in inverse manner and which it is pretended to realize through simple agreements between governments. The Central American Union must be the product of the junction of the hopes, ideals and interests of our people and never the product of influences foreign to those interests."

Arbenz was nominated by the PAR as presidential candidate. He accepted. A few days later the Communist-dominated National Political Action Committee of Workers delivered to Arbenz what they termed an "historio document." It read in part:

"We declare Lieutenant Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, candidate of the working class and the peasants for the next presidential term, certifying that this support is conditional to the acceptance on the part of the candidate of the program for popular revindications which the working class delineated."

Among the signers of the document were Manuel Pinto Usaga, Secretary General of the PAC, and Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Secretary of Propaganda. They called on Arbenz with Roberto Alvarado Fuentes and others to deliver the document to him which, "Diario de la Mañana" reported, Arbenz accepted "with an emotional reply."

Thus Arevalo, the Kerensky of the Guatemalan "revolution," had schooled the Lenin to succeed him. The Lenin was to be Arbenz. He was "elected" in November, 1950, after the opposition had been crushed and driven into exile.

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Arbenz was inaugurated on March 15, 1951. In the interim from nearly mid-1950 till then the United States had no diplomatic mission chief other than a Chargé D'Affaires. The government had declared Ambassador Richard C. Patterson Jr., as persona non grata. The reason: Patterson tried to dissuade Arevalo and his gang from playing with the Communists.

After the inauguration of Arbenz, we sent Rudolph Schoenfeld there as ambassador. He served until replaced in November, 1953.

Arevalo succored many international Communists in Guatemala. He gave them lucrative jobs or placed them on the payroll and they received a monthly check (usually about \$500) without having to work.

One of those on the regular payroll was Manuel Eduardo Hubner, a Chilean. Hubner had been a member of the Chilean Communist Party. He had also been a member of the Chilean Socialist Party. The socialists expelled him. He tried twice unsuccessfully to be readmitted to the Chilean Communist Party but they required he make more acts of contrition. Arevalo hired him to write a book about Guatemala.

Otherwise banned by normal diplomatic procedure, Arevalo used to send Hubner a \$500 monthly stipend through the Guatemalan legation in Santiago, Chile, when the latter lived in his homeland.

A prominent visitor, as the official guest of the Arevalo government, was Pablo Neruda, renowned Chilean poet. Neruda has received the Stalin Peace Prize and other honors from the Kremlin. Neruda is now back in Chile as editor of the Communist Party newspaper "El Siglo."

A Chilean woman Communist educator, Virginia Bravo, was appointed by Arevalo as head of the Cultural Mission for Rural Schools. Just before she left Guatemala for home she served as social secretary (and Marxist indoctrinator) for Mrs. Arbenz.

Two Spanish Communists, Rafael DeBuen and Ramon Duran, were given jobs by Arevalo at the University of San Carlos in Guatemala City. They are

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still in Guatemala and still in their job .

A Mexican Communist, Hernan Parra, was hired by Arbenz as an adviser.

The Jacobo Sanchez School of Marxism was opened by the Communist Party during the Arevalo regime. It operates in Guatemala City and has increased its activities since Arbenz assumed office to include army officers as students.

The Communist Party organized 28 principal cells in Guatemala City. Each cell has a name of a prominent Communist or Communist date. Among them are: the Mao Tse Tung, Luiz Carlos Prestes, Chou En Lai, Julio Antonio Mella, Juan Humberto Sosa, Jorge Dimitrof, Pablo Neruda, Ricardo Fonseca, Juan Pablo Wainwright, 20 de Octubre, 7 de Noviembre, Jacobo Sanchez, Bandera Roja, Anibal Ponce, P. Korchagin, Tecun Uman, Isabel Vivar, Octubre, Stalingrado, Jose Diaz, Javier Moreno 25 de Junio and Genero Banera, Obdulio Barthe, Dionisio E rina, Vittorio Codovila.

Five days after Arbenz was inaugurated the Communists staged a "Partisans of Peace" meeting in Guatemala City. The government permitted them to meet in the auditorium of the Belen School. The meeting was presided by Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, then President of Congress and head of PAR. Juan Marinello, President of the Partido Socialista Popular (Communist Party) of Cuba, and Jose Morera, Cuban official of the CTAL, attended together with Salvador Garcia Aguero, Cuban Communist leader.

Other foreign Communists present included Ovando Sanchez, of El Salvador, who escaped from his country during the 1932 Communist uprising there, and Virginia Bravo, the Chilean Communist educator.

Among the leading Guatemalan Communists who attended were Jose Manuel Fortuny, Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Manuel Pinto Usaga and Luis Cardoza y Aragon; as well as Congressman Francisco Fernandez, still listed as a member of the PAR, and Alfredo Guerra Borges, who succeeded Fortuny as Editor of "Octubre."

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In 1949 Arevalo had placed direction of all national radio broadcasting in the hands of the Communists. He moved his former press secretary, Eliseo Martinez Zelada, into the job. Martinez Zelada was press officer of the Guatemalan delegation to the IX International Conference of American States at Bogota, Colombia, in 1948. In June, 1948, he was appointed Secretary of the Guatemalan embassy in Mexico. A protest by the newspaper "Excelsior," edited by Dr. Rodrigo De Llano, frustrated the diplomatic accreditation by the Mexican government. Arevalo then offered him a similar post in Havana, but he declined. He was rewarded with the job as Director of National Broadcasting and as such had direct supervision of the government radio stations TGW and Radio Morse, both short and long wave.

On April 6, 1951 Martinez Zelada was replaced by Carlos Alvarado Jerez, a self-avowed Communist. Martinez Zelada is now Guatemala's Ambassador to Bolivia where he is working very closely with the Communist Party of Bolivia.

A smokescreen was erected when Foreign Minister Manuel Galich, who was a member of the Communist Party cell "Claridad" when it operated in Guatemala City in 1946, signed the anti-Communist resolution at the Foreign Ministers Conference in Washington in March-April, 1951. But when he returned home he erased all doubt when he assured the Communists in a press statement that they "could remain at ease for the resolution which refers to the strengthening of internal security in nothing affects them, for said resolution cannot restrict the constitutional guarantees and these do not prohibit the Communists or anyone else to express their opinions."

The May Day celebration included two Cuban Communists who occupied places of prominence on the stage at Central Park in front of the presidential palace. These were Jose Morera, Secretary of Organization of the CTAL in Cuba, and Rafael Avila, Secretary General of the Transport Workers' Union of Cuba (Communist branch).

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Arbenz opened the door wider to the agents of Moscow. He gave the green light for the holding of a "World Conference of Transport Workers of the World Federation of Trade Unions" in Guatemala City from May 10-14, 1951. From Paris arrived Louis Saillant, Secretary General of the WFTU, and Maurice Carroue, Vice-President of the International Agricultural and Forestry Union. From Mexico came Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President of the CTAL and Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez, his personal secretary as well as an International Director of CTAL. From Cuba came Jose Morera, Secretary of Organization of the CTAL and Rafael Avila, head of the Transport Workers' Union of Cuba and Latin American Director of Transport Workers for the WFTU. From Costa Rica there was Rodolfo Guzman, Moscow-trained International Director of the CTAL.

Arbenz made available to them the auditorium of the headquarters of the Department of Public Health. The opening session was attended by four cabinet ministers and two under secretaries. They were: Manuel Galich, Minister of Foreign Relations; Hector Morgan, Minister of Education; Dr. Noriega Morales, Minister of Economy and Labor, and Ramiro Ordoñez Paniagua, Minister of Gobernacion (or Interior). The undersecretaries were Guillermo Melbourne, Undersecretary of Communications and Public Works, and Alfonso Marroquin, Undersecretary of Foreign Relations.

The meeting was scheduled to have been addressed by Colonel Carlos Ardana Sandoval, Minister of Communications and Public Works, but he was unable to attend at the last minute.

Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, President of the Congress, attended the meeting with ten other congressmen.

Saillant and Lombardo Toledano laid down the party line, launching blistering attacks against the United States and praising the Soviet Union. They ordered the following strategy and tactics:

1. Organize a united labor confederation to act as a front to combat

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the reactionaries within Guatemala and the foreign capitalistic imperialists.

2. Step up the peace movement; obtain more signatures; stress the importance upon the people that the world is divided into two camps, one the Soviet camp of peace and the other the United States camp of imperialist war to enslave the peoples.

3. Strike movements should be carefully organized and well led to get the best possible advantages for the workers. Existing laws should be disregarded in all demands and all reasons for a strike. The labor movement should be unified and strengthened.

Saillant praised the strike against the International Railways of Central America (IRCA) as an example of the show of strength of the labor movement and especially SAMF.

"The railway strike," he said, "raised revindications, achieved the solidarity of the workers and in this manner conquered a victory."

Minister of Education Hector Morgan arranged for the use of the Variedades Theater for a Communist Party meeting on June 21, 1951. The Arbenz government showed it fully identified itself with the Communists in every manner shape and form. Not only did one of his ministers make available a theater to the party but, again, Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, President of the Congress, and other congressmen attended; messages of adhesion were sent by labor judges and the executive committee of STEG, the educational union.

Alfredo Guerra Borges acted as master of ceremonies. Among other messages of adhesion and felicitations which he read were: one signed by 12 congressmen; one sent by the Executive Committee of the Syndical Federation of Guatemala (FSG) of which Victor Manuel Gutierrez was Secretary General; one from the Democratic Youth Alliance and another from the Youth Branch of the PAR.



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Jose Manuel Fortuny announced at this meeting that the Communist Party would register as a political party in the country. He attacked the newspaper "El Imparcial," as a lackey of Wall Street and Yankee Imperialism because of its anti-Communist editorial campaign. He praised the Soviet Union and described it as the "real ally of the Guatemalan people in World War II, not the Anglo-Saxon imperialists." He explained Article 32 of the constitution and pointed out it was drafted to bar parties of Nazi and Fascist type and not the Communists.

Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, who had been appointed President of the Guatemalan Social Security Institute by Arbenz, which is known as the IGSS in that country, was introduced by Guerra Borges as "one of the stalwarts of the Communist Party." Alvarado Monzon presented prizes to the Communist cells which led in the campaign for recruiting of new members, the sale of the party paper Octubre and the obtaining of signatures for the Soviet peace appeal.

Guerra Borges blasted the governments of the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Cuba and Spain as "anti-Communist dictatorships." The United Fruit Company, the International Railways of Central America and the Electric Light Company were attacked by him.

"No matter what or how much it costs," he said, "no one can separate the workers and the Communist Party. Our newspaper Octubre, the voice of the workers and the people, has shown clearly the advances made and the privileges gained in the Peoples' Republics under the guidance of the invincible Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The Communist Feminine Alliance sponsored a national conference for the "Defense of Infancy" in December, 1951. The government made available the auditorium of the Public Health headquarters for it. It was attended by Mrs. Arbenz.

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The government crushed anti-Communist demonstrations in July, 1951. The market women demonstrated in protest when the government removed two Nuns from the orphanage in Guatemala City and decided to replace them with Communist teachers. There was a pitched battle in the streets between Catholics and Communists. The government agreed to retain the Nuns, as the orphanage is operated by the church. The Communists effected a strategic retreat in this issue.

The march towards the consolidation of the Communist bridgehead in the Caribbean was accelerated in October, 1951, when Victor Manuel Gutierrez executed the orders left with him by Louis Saillant and Vicente Lombardo Toledano. All Guatemalan labor unions were unified into the General Confederation of Guatemalan Workers (CGTG) under the leadership of Gutierrez.

Gutierrez was rewarded by the Kremlin for this triumph and was invited to visit Russia under the auspices of the Soviet trade unions. He toured there in the company of several South American Communist labor chieftains. En route he halted at the Social Security Conference in Vienna which was sponsored by the WFTU and lambasted the United States in one of his speeches.

When Gutierrez returned from Moscow he brought with him instructions to put over the Agrarian Reform, which Arbenz had promised to effectuate in his first year in office. Gutierrez was praised by Moscow for obtaining from the government of Arbenz in February, 1952 of a building for the use of his CTG. As soon as he returned from the Kremlin he asked Arbenz for a much larger building for the new CGTG. Arbenz gave it to them.

One of the first moves by Gutierrez was to dissolve his Partido Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala (PROG) and merge it with the Communist Party of Guatemala.

Manual Pinto Usaga was appointed by Arbenz to be Guatemala's Consul General in Mexico in order to effect a closer liaison between the CTAL and the CGTG without any expense to either. Shortly after Pinto Usaga

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assumed his post in Mexico city he was invited by the Pan-American Society of Women, primarily an American organization there, to address it on Guatemala at a luncheon given at the American Club. The American embassy in Mexico City made no effort to block the invitation. Pinto Usaga was the guest of honor and spoke about "tourist travel" to Guatemala.

Gutierrez issued orders for a crippling strike against the United Fruit Company plantation at Tiquisate, the principal banana-producing region in the country near the Pacific coast. It was to be the first of a series of strikes in 1952 ordered by the Communists. Gutierrez used his influence as a congressman to press for an embargo of the United Fruit Company property at Tiquisate. There was a threat that the attachment by the government would result in the United Fruit Company being sold to the highest bidder out of business in Guatemala.

The CGTG plans were frustrated by the local union at Tiquisate. The union leaders took stock of their fate and prospects and balked at the extreme action decided by Gutierrez. The local union leaders asked the United Fruit Company for a three-year contract under current collective bargaining agreements and the strike was settled.

The CGTG then turned its guns on the Electric Light Company which had signed a two-year contract with its workers union in 1950. New demands had been presented in May, 1951 and were conciliated, with the company granting most of them. In April, 1952 it had to bow to every new demand made for a new labor contract, increasing operating costs 20 percent. The government intervened the management of the company, banning the import of further American technical personnel and canceling the residence permits of most of those in the country.

The CGTG backed a linotype operators strike at the newspaper "El Imparcial." This was settled only after the publisher granted some of the demands but refused to grant the one whereby the operators did not want

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to set anti-Communist copy.

One crippling strike in mid-1952 was the Pan-American Airways strike. The government has for some years, since the Arevalo regime, refused to grant to PAA an operating contract longer than one year with renegotiation every year. The CGTG sponsored a PAA employees strike for higher wage and other benefits in July, 1952. The strike lasted most of the remainder of the year. PAA planes overflow Guatemala and were forced to rearrange schedules.

In his annual message to the congress delivered on March 6, 1952 Arbenz expressed his pleasure over the strengthening of the labor movement and the organization of the CGTG. He also praised the Soviet pre-peace movement and the impending legislation for the Agrarian Reform.

Anti-Communists petitioned the Congress in March, 1952 to outlaw the Communist Party in accordance with Article 32 of the Constitution. The demonstration of this group fell on deaf ears. The Congress shelved the request.

In the meantime Jose Manuel Fortuny employed a typical Communist stratagem and changed the name of the party to Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajo (PGT), or Guatemalan Labor Party. The Arbenz government permitted this party of register and granted it an official charter.

The Communists continued their relentless offensive. The congress was busy drafting and approving the Agrarian Reform Law. The Agrarian Reform Committee of Congress was comprised mainly of Communists. They were: Victor Manuel Gutierrez, chairman; Ignacio Humberto Ortiz, Cesar Montenegro, Ernesto Marroquin Wyss, Guillermo Ovando Arriola, Amor Velasco, Carlos Garcia Manzo, Marco A. Villamar C., Roberto Giron Lemus.

A Guatemalan Peace Congress was sponsored by the party in the Teatro America in the capital from May 23-25, 1952. The leading attraction was General Heriberto Jara, Vice-President of the World Peace Council. Jara,

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World War II Minister of the Navy of Mexico, was awarded the Stalin Peace Prize. The presidium of the meeting included: Professor Felberto Torres, Nicaraguan exile who is employed by the Ministry of Education of Guatemala; Alfonso Bauer Paiz, Minister of Economy under Arevalo; Alfonso Solorzano, Manager, Social Security Institute; Mario Silva Jonama, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; Antonio Ovando Sanchez, Communist peasant leader; Mrs. Julia Melendez de Leon, a school principal; Congressman Fermin B. Garcia; Luis Cardoza y Aragon, former diplomat and writer; Dr. Guillermo Alvarado Montenegro, of Morales, Department of Izaba; Miss Atala Valenzuela, leader of the Democratic Feminine Alliance and Miss Victoria Moraga of the same group; Antonio Cruz Franco, and Otto Kaul Gonzalez, attorneys, and Cesar Augusto Regil, Director of Control of Industry and Commerce.

Prominent local leaders who were there included Jose Manuel Fortuny, Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Carlos Manuel Pellecer and Alfredo Guerra Borges. The Communist packed 1,200 people into the theater.

They employed a subterfuge to attract attendance by publicizing that the Church would celebrate mass in the cathedral to pray for peace and support the congress. Archbishop Mariano Rossell Arellano publicly denied this.

The Communists called a meeting of 2,500 farm workers in the Teatro Popular in Guatemala City on May 27, 1952 to explain to them the benefits they would receive under the Agrarian Reform Law. It was called the First National Congress of Peasants or Farm Workers. The farmers were rounded up for the meeting by leaders of all political parties supporting the government.

Occupying prominent places on the presidium were Minister of Foreign Relations Manuel Galich, Julio Estrada de la Hoz, President of Congress, Minister of Communications and Public Works Carlos Aldana Sandoval,

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Alfonso Bauer Paiz, ex-Minister of Economy and Labor; Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Jose Manuel Fortuny, Carlos Manuel Pellecer, Alfredo Guerra Borges, Leonardo Castillo Flores, Secretary General of the National Confederation of Peasants or Farm Workers; Communist Congressman Ernesto Marroquin Wyss, Amor Velasco, Cesar Julio Montenegro and Jaime Diaz Rozaotto; Alvaro Hugo Salguero, chief of the government's press and propaganda office; Bernardo Alvarado Monzon and Luis Cardoza y Aragon, and two leaders of the leftwing Socialist Party, Jorge Silva Falla and Alejandro Silva Falla.

Congress neared completion of the Agrarian Reform Law, designed primarily to legislate the United Fruit Company out of business and to prevent other American investments in Guatemala. While this was nearing its final stage, twenty members of congress signed a resolution, which was read on the floor, voicing their solidarity with the North Korean army in its battle against the Republic of Korea troops and the United Nations.

The signatories included: Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, Humberto Ignacio Ortiz, Alfonso Fortuny, Amor Velasco, Cesar Julio Montenegro, Domingo Fuentes Giron, Jaime Barrios Achila, Guillermo Ovando Arriola, Oscar Jimenez de Leon, Miguel Diaz Valdes, Humberto Robles Alvarado, Jose Luis de Leon, Juan Mayorga Franco, Carlos Garcia Manzo, Emilio Zea Gonzales, Miguel Angel Gonzales, J. Felipe Dardon, Jose Alberto Cardoza and Alaric Alfonso Bennett.

On June 17, 1952 the congress approved the Agrarian Reform Law. If anyone has any doubt whatsoever that Arevalo is an integral part of the Communist International conspiracy one need only read the last paragraph of the law as follows:

"Dated in the Palace of the Legislative Organism: in Guatemala, the seventeenth of June of 1952, eighth year of the Revolution."

The law is signed by Julio Estrada de la Hoz, President of Congress;

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Marco Antonio Villamar C., Secretary, and Alfonso Fortuny (cousin of Jose Manuel Fortuny), Secretary.

Arbenz, definitely an integral part of the Communist conspiracy, and his Minister of Economy Roberto Panjul, signed the law the same date.

Article I of the Agrarian Reform Law of Guatemala reads:

"The Agrarian Reform of the October Revolution has for its purpose to liquidate feudal property in the field and the relations of production which originate in order to develop the form of exploitation and capitalist methods of production in agriculture and to pave the way for the industrialization of Guatemala."

Article I of the Agrarian Reform Law of the Peoples' Republic of China reads:

"The land ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class shall be abolished and the system of peasant land ownership shall be introduced in order to set free the rural productive forces, develop agricultural production and thus pave the way for New China's industrialization."

The parallel is obvious.

A few days later Arbenz went on the air in a nationwide broadcast to justify the Agrarian Reform and announced it would be enforced come hell or high water.

Motion picture exhibitors tried to show the anti-Communist film "The Red Menace" in Guatemala City in August, 1952. Movie censorship, which is directed by the Ministry of Education, banned the film. A few weeks later the Communists brought back from the Peking peace conference a Communist propaganda film which accused the United States of conducting germ warfare in Korea. This film was approved by censor and shown throughout the country. In addition it was promoted over the government radio stations and shown

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in public auditoriums under sponsorship of governmental officials.

In August, 1952 the government of El Salvador proposed the inclusion of an anti-Communist resolution for the next meeting of the Organization of Central American States (Odeca) which was scheduled to be held in Guatemala. The Arbenz government leaked this confidential note to the Communists to stir up agitation against the meeting. The Communists launched a smear campaign against Foreign Minister Robert Canessa of El Salvador and threats were made against his life. Guatemala canceled the meeting. Foreign Minister Galich resigned to accept a job as Ambassador to Ecuador. He was replaced by Arevalo's buddy, Raul Osegueda, more astute, but out of a job since General Fulgencio Batista overthrew Carlos Prio Socarras (close friend of Osegueda) in Cuba. Osegueda was Guatemala's Minister to Cuba, appointed by Arbenz.

The Arbenz government paid the railway transportation for a delegation of Guatemalan Democratic Youth to travel to the Mexican frontier to meet with their counterparts of that country in October, 1952.

Gitta Sten, who was cultural attache of the Polish Legation in Mexico, was guest of honor at a Saker-Ti Group meeting in Guatemala City in November, 1952.

The PGT nominated candidates for congress in the mid-term elections. Jose Manuel Fortuny was a candidate for Guatemala City. He was beaten by the anti-Communist vote. But Carlos Manuel Pellecer was elected for Escuintla by an overwhelming majority. The presentation of Communist candidates was possible because just before the elections in December, 1952, the party had held its Second National Congress and changed its name to the PGT.

Four Communist candidates and 24 from fellow traveling parties were all elected. The Communists had closed the vise on the legislative control of Guatemala. Alvaro Hugo Salguero was elected congressman for Santa Rosa.



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The Communists controlled the economy of the country through the Agrarian Reform Law. Arbenz appointed Alfonso H. Martinez to head the National Agrarian Department (DAN). It was Martinez who commanded the ambush against Colonel Arana and was identified by Arana's chauffeur as the man who fired the first shot at Arana. Three of the five members of the boards who serve under the national head (Martinez) are nominated by the Confederation of Peasants or Farmers, controlled by the Communists.

A National Social Security Conference was called in Guatemala City in December, 1952, as a prelude to the dispatch of a delegate to the Communist-dominated Social Security Conference in Vienna. Victor Manuel Gutierrez was the star attraction and spoke. The delegate sent was Natzul Aguirre, Communist labor agitator, who was responsible for the 72-day strike against Pan-American World Airways.

The new congress convened shortly after the New Year and elected a new President, who is in line to succeed Arbenz should he resign, become too ill to serve or die. He was Leonardo Castillo Flores, Secretary General of the Confederation of Peasants or Farmers, and again the Communists were assured of having a "friend of the revolution" in the presidency should fate prescribe Arbenz' departure therefrom.

The Supreme Court was requested to rule on a challenge against Decree 900 which stipulated there would be no appeal against a presidential decision in Agrarian Reform cases. Chief Justice Arturo Herbruger A., and Associate Justices Francisco Carrillo Magana, Justo Rufino Morales, Jose Vicente Rodriguez and Edmundo Lopez Duran issued a unanimous decision in February that the Arbenz decree violated Articles 21, 50, 51 and 172 of the Constitution which guarantee citizens the right of appeal when their rights are infringed.

Arbenz sent the Supreme Court conflict to the congress with instructions to impeach the court and fire it forthwith. The impeachment

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was effected a few days later without trial and the court was summarily fired. The justices were replaced immediately with party liners. The new court is: Marcial Mendez Montenegro, chief justice; Associate Justices Virgilio Zapata, Edmundo Lopez Duran, Francisco Delgadillo Zamora and Ponciano Espana Rodas. The new court upset the decision of the predecessors and ruled Decree 900 had no appeal. Presidential edict was final on all agrarian questions. The Communists had scored.

Protest demonstrations sparked disorders and troops were called out February 20 to suppress them, which they did.

March, 1953 produced several more definitive demonstrations of the Guatemalan alliance with Moscow. Gutierrez flew to Santiago, Chile, to attend a CTAL congress. Before that he ordered another strike against IRCA which culminated in government intervention.

On March 6, 1953 the Communists in congress introduced a motion that a minute of silent tribute be paid in homage to the death of Stalin. The motion was passed and the congressmen stood silent for a minute.

On March 14, 1953 the Ministry of Education made available to the Communists the auditorium of the Belen School in Guatemala City for a meeting of homage to Stalin.

A congressional committee has been studying all foreign contracts with a view to liquidating them, especially the United Fruit Company, the International Railways of Central America and the Electric Light Company, a subsidiary of Electric Bond & Share and American Foreign Power. The Communists and fellow travelers have a free rein on this committee. They are: Francisco Fernandez F., chairman; Mario Paiz Novales, Jose Luis de Leon, Joaquin Rivera Kunze, Emilio Zea Gonzales, Carlos Garcia Bauer, Eduardo Zelada Cerzo, Jaime Barrios Archila and Hector Fioh Garma.

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The Communists also have a free rein on the economically Labor Code Reforms Committee. They are: Jose Alberto Cardoza, chairman; Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Carlos Manuel Pellecer, Amor Velasco, Hector Jerez Montalvo, Jose Obdulio Cabrera, Jose Joaquin Rivera, Raul Lopez Argueta and Oscar Diaz Jr.

The Communists handpicked their candidates for the two labor courts that function in Guatemala. These are called Labor Courts of Appeals. The Coordinating Magistrate is Miguel Antonio Alvarado. The First Labor Court of Appeals is composed of Luis Quesada Mejicanos, Julio Gomez Padilla and Jorge Mario Gonzalez. The Second Labor Court of Appeals consists of Rene Barrillas Calzia, Horacio Padilla and Edelberto Pereira Echevarria.

Arevalo has a cushy job of roving ambassador. As such he gets a fat salary and expenses to travel anywhere in the world. He has been behind the iron curtain since he undertook this post-presidential job. His wife returned to live in Argentina.

The important role which Guatemala began to play in the Soviet Master Plan for Central America became evident by the prominence given that country in the weekly Cominform newspaper: "For a Lasting Peace, For a Peoples' Democracy," which is published in Bucharest, Romania, and flown to all parts of the world. Items began to appear with increasing frequency and in more space as follows:

"February 22, 1952--The labor movement of Guatemala has obtained an important and significant political success. Until now it was represented by the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Labor Party. The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PROG), led by Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Pinto Usaga and others, has made public the agreement to dissolve the mentioned party. With the self-dissolution efforts, initiated in May, 1951, culminated the integration of all the forces of vanguard of the Guatemalan proletariat into a sole party, the Communist Party of Guatemala.

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"The act of the PROG is clear testimony of a just attitude towards the unity of the working class on the part of the honest leaders of the different political currents in the bosom of the working class. It testifies, moreover, a profound understanding of the historic necessity of strengthening and developing the Communist parties, the fighting general staff of the working class and of all the workers, of all the movement of national liberation against foreign imperialism."

"April 4, 1952--Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Communist Party, pointed out to the enlarged Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Guatemala the progress achieved by the democratic forces of Guatemala and denounced the plans of the imperialists and of their principal allies, the semi-fuedal landholders, who prepare a reactionary conspiracy against the Arbenz government. He stressed the need to unite the democratic forces of Guatemala with a great national front on the basis of an ample patriotic and anti-imperialist program.

"Comrade Fortuny analyzed the work of the party in the attainment of the labor and political unity of the workers of Guatemala. The fundamental weakness in the work of the party is the insufficient liaison of the Communists with the masses."

"July 18, 1952--The Congress of the Republic of Guatemala has approved the Agrarian Reform Law. The promulgation of this law constitutes an important victory of the Guatemalan workers and peasants in the democratization of the country for which they fight despite the desperate opposition of the reactionaries inspired by the Yankee monopolists. Attacks against the democratic institutions, cowardly murders of peasant leaders and workers, to all this the reaction has recurred in the fight against agrarian reform.

"The amplified plenum of the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Communist Party held in June made the political appreciation of the agrarian

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reform, the realization of which will liquidate the feudal property in the field, will give impetus to the domestic market and will open the road for a more rapid capitalist development of agriculture and for the industrialization of the country.

"The plenum of the Central Committee of Guatemala pointed out that the classes which support the Agrarian Reform, the most effective will be the working class, which will fight to the end for the compliance thereof in benefit of the peasants and the transformation of Guatemala.

"The Guatemalan Communist Party has been and will be at the head of the democratic forces that fight for the Agrarian Reform. It has demanded, not the redemption but the full expropriation of the lands and their distribution among the peasants. The promulgation of the law is only the start of the tenacious fight of the masses for the application of the agrarian reform, for the enlargement of its frame. The success of this fight depends above all on the same working masses, on their unity in the fight against the reactionary forces headed by Yankee Imperialism."

"October 31, 1952--The Second Ordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Guatemala will be held from December 11-14. There will be a report of the Central Committee by Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General. Alfredo Guerra Borges, Secretary of Propaganda, will report on the party program. A report on the revision of the By-Laws will be made by Bernardo Alvaro Monzon, Secretary of Organization. The Central Committee will be elected.

"In convoking the meeting the Central Committee said: "The aggravation of the danger of war, due to the present international situation, and the actual national conditions, demand the adoption of a policy line that enables us to redouble the fight against war and to strengthen the peace movement and to give impetus to the effective realization of the agrarian reform, the industrialization of the country, the increment of the peoples' welfare and

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the enlargement of the movement for national liberation, all of which requires a greater and more solid unity of all the democratic and popular forces."

"January 16, 1953--The Second Congress of the Communist Party of Guatemala was held from December 11-14 and one of its resolutions was to change the name of the party. The Congress agreed to call it the Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajo (PGT).

"Before the Congress convened the organizations of the party discussed the thesis of the report of the work of the Central Committee, the planned program of the party, the planned By-Laws, and the thesis of the report on this question.

"The Congress was attended by 184 delegates. In the debates, 115 persons took part. The great importance of the principles of the subjects examined by the Congress were reflected in the report of the Secretary General of the Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajo, Comrade Jose Manuel Fortuny. He declared that the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the U. S. S. R., has demonstrated in deeds the immeasurable superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system.

"But the victories in the building up of Communism in the Soviet Union have not come of themselves, the informant said. They are the fruit of the tireless efforts of the great Soviet people and the direction and guidance of the teacher of the party of Lenin and Stalin, of the Soviet people and of all progressive humanity, the great Stalin.

"After analyzing minutely the internal situation of Guatemala, the informant said the working class, as a directing force of society, must lead the fight against feudalism and imperialism, organize the alliance with the peasants. Upon this base we must create the united, patriotic front of all the social forces which oppose feudalism and imperialism.

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"Dealing with internal matters of the party, Comrade Fortuny said that the party can no longer be considered in its embryonic state, as was true during the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee in January, 1951. During the past three years, the effective strength of the party has multiplied almost fourteen-fold, although it is still not a party of the masses. In its social composition sixty percent of its members are laborers and thirteen percent are peasants.

"Among the defects of the party's work, the informant said, was its sketchy liaison with the masses, the wrong policies in the selection and promotion of the organizers, the slight preoccupation of the leadership with respect to the raising of the ideological level and the Marxist-Leninist education of the party members. Also the insufficient level of party discipline, and the scanty use of criticism and self-criticism, etc.

"The Congress received a telegram of brotherly greetings from the Communist Party of the United States, which read:

"'Our enemy is the common one, the principal enemy of the peace and the liberty of all countries: Yankee Imperialism.' The telegram underscores that 'Guatemala is one of the countries which has been most attacked by Yankee Imperialism.' The telegram ends with the slogan: 'Hands off Guatemala!'

"The Congress elected new leaders of the PGT. Jose Manuel Fortuny was elected Secretary General of the Party."

Guatemalan Communists have attended "peace" congresses in East Berlin, Vienna, Bucharest, Montevideo, Peking. Among those who went to Peking in June, 1952, were Otto Raul Gonzalez, Mario Silva Jonama, Atala Valenzuela, Gonzalo Valenzuela and Professor Edelberto Torres, the Nicaraguan exile. A second group flew in September, 1952. This was comprised of Congressman Alberto Cardoza, Carlos Alberto Jerez, Juan Antonio Cruz and Miss Carmen Moran.

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They joined or crossed the paths of the others to Peking.

The Guatemalans, with the funds brought from Mexico by normal and orderly operation of the democratic institutions;

"That said groups have infiltrated in such institutions, particularly those of an educational character, of university, professional and secondary education, teachers and students who are poisoning the young minds with their totalitarian ideologies; and

"That it is the duty of the Public Power to defend the democratic institutions of the Republic and to defend similarly the new generations from the noxious influence of totalitarian doctrines such as Communism.

"Decrees

"Article 1--Declare the totalitarian activities in the country noxious to the health of the Fatherland and contrary to the National Constitution, particularly those that are carried out in the teaching institutions with the purpose of derailing the mentalities of the new generations.

"Article 2--Declare illicit and noxious to the health of the Fatherland and contrary to the Constitution the formation of parties, organizations or totalitarian groups, such as Communism.

"Article 3--Any person who it is proved belongs to or collaborates with totalitarian groups, parties or organizations, such as Communism, will not be able to work in the National Government, nor the Municipal, nor in their dependencies, autonomous or semi-autonomous, nor form part of the official organisms, nor participate in transactions with the aforementioned institutions."

In 1948 the Panama Canal was almost flanked by hostile neighbors when Communists tried to capture control of the governments of Costa Rica and Colombia. It took a civil war in Costa Rica to eradicate Communist domination of that government. And it took three days of fighting in Colombia during the Pan-American Conference to prevent the Communists from taking over that government.



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While that was transpiring, the Communists, as indicated by the above law, were penetrating deeply into the educational system of Panama. They also tried to get a stranglehold on the 17,000 non-American workers in the Canal Zone.

Two Communist teachers, Hugo Victor, who had been Secretary General of the party, and Cesar A. de Leon, were summarily fired by Remon early in December after they had been arrested at an illegal "peace" meeting on the night of December 12, 1953.

Victor had a close liaison in the generation of the "Hate America" campaign with the Argentine embassy in Panama. This liaison, which was an effective part of the Communist conspiracy, was documented in a letter written by Victor to Francisco M. Carretero, when the latter was being transferred to Panama from his post as Labor Attache of the Argentine Embassy in San Jose, Costa Rica. The letter, dated August 25, 1952, reads:

"Very Esteemed Friend:

"As I will never have the pleasure to know you either personally or publicly I take this opportunity to address this letter to you.

"It is my understanding that you will continue the work of your predecessor, Mr. Rodulfo, in my country and that he has informed you about the relations that have existed between Mr. Rodulfo and me in the past.

"Our cooperation in the fight against the imperialism of the Yankees has helped our countries immensely and I hope that we can continue the fight.

"They have told me that Mr. Rodulfo has given you instructions about the means that will be used to communicate with me and also about the disposition of funds. You will be able to call me at the

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same telephone number, at the hour indicated or you will be able to write to me, sending them to the same post office box.

"I thank you again for your cooperation. May our relationship continue to bear fruit!

"Fraternally

(signed) "Hugo Victor"

"P. S. Please do me the favor of destroying this letter."

The Mr. Rodulfo referred to by Victor was Hugo Rodulfo, Argentine Labor Attache to Panama who did a terrific job and then was promoted to Mexico. While in Mexico he announced he had quit the service to reside there. Then, on December 16, 1952 he left for Panama to visit a mistress, but still traveled on a diplomatic passport. The Panama Secret Police caught up with him and ordered him to leave the country. Rodulfo displayed an immigrant's visa, but President Remon ordered him out. His liaison with the Communists was much too close.

American Communists were sent to Panama to organize the native and foreign workers in the Canal Zone. Abram Flaxer, head of the United Public Workers of America-CIO sent Leonard H. Goldsmith here as an International Director and he gave a charter to Local 713.

Goldsmith was succeeded by John L. (Jack) Stroble and took off for New York and Chicago to lead in the agitation of teachers' strikes in those two cities. Strobel was regional director for UFWA in West Virginia, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania with headquarters at Pittsburgh.

Paul Robeson was sent down to sing recruits into membership at two meetings, one in Panama and one in Colon.

Flaxer sent Robert Weinstein, his national director of organization, to the Canal Zone for two weeks. Weinstein had been an instructor at the Jefferson School in New York.

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The organization work was effected from 1946 through 1948. In 1948 two party men, Max Brodsky and Joseph Sachs, took over the organizational work from Stroble. Brodsky had the title of regional director. Sachs was international director.

Sachs smeared United States District Attorney Daniel McGrath in a radio broadcast in Panama City. He later gave the text to a newspaper in Panama which printed it. McGrath filed a criminal libel suit in the Ancon, Canal Zone, District Court. The Justice Department sent Tom DeWolfe down as special prosecutor. Sachs was convicted and Brodsky, called as a witness, sought refuge under the Fifth Amendment when asked whether he was a Communist.

Sachs was sentenced to nine months in Gamboa Penitentiary and served it and was then deported to the United States. Brodsky was deported by the government of President Domingo Diaz early in March, 1949, which action brought protests by the Communist and fellow traveler groups. Foreign Minister Ignacio Molino Jr., stood firm and refused to accede to their appeals.

On March 17, 1949 Julius Katz-Suchy, Polish delegate to the United Nations, protested before the Security Council against the deportation of Brodsky from Panama.

McGrath broke the financial back of the Local 713. He filed civil suits against it and against UFWA-CIO. Both were settled out of court in McGrath's favor. The local union was demoralized and when the CIO booted out the UFWA in 1950 it sent non-Communist organizers to Panama to try to pick up the pieces and rebuild the union.

The Peronists obtained a stooge in the Canal Zone. He was Juan Vicente Spiazano Urriola. He was employed in the Motor Transportation Division, which handled all vehicle repairs. Early in 1952 he flew to Asuncion, Paraguay, as the Panamanian delegate to the preparatory meeting of the Latin American Confederation of Labor (ATLAS) which was being organized to try to pull away

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from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions its membership in Latin America. The ATLAS was being organized on President Juan Peron's orders. The Paraguay meeting adopted a declaration of principles which called for relentless war against "Yankee Imperialism."

Canal authorities observed Spiazano's intensified activities among the workers after he returned from Paraguay by way of Argentina. He was distributing "Hate America" literature and enlisting recruits to his union. He was fired and the Peronists reacted violently to this measure. Every Peronist newspaper in Argentina printed the following statement which was issued by Peron's presidential press office in behalf of the General Confederation of Labor of Argentina (CGT):

"Imperialism has committed another outrage, which, although unforeseen, nevertheless causes indignation. The Panamanian labor leader Juan Vicente Spiazano Urriola has been fired from his job by authorities of the Canal Zone because he refused to disown the obligations accruing from the recent labor unity conference held in Asuncion, Paraguay.

"Imperialism has responded to the manly attitude of this worthy labor representative tending to starve him. This is the typical maneuver of imperialism: to reduce to misery and desperation everyone who does not bow to its miserable designs.

"The Latin American labor unity committee (CSUL) denounces publicly to the workers of Latin America this new infamy that is added to the long account that imperialism has pending with the workers and which demonstrates, besides its obstinacy, the fear caused by the labor unity . . . ed in the historic Asuncion conference.

"But this real challenge launched by capitalism will have to bear the expected fruit. Intimidation will not be the weapon that frightens the workers in the fight which they have undertaken for their liberation. On the

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contrary, it is another spur to continue it with greater force. On the other hand, the CSUL will take the necessary steps to avoid the helplessness of Comrade Spiazano which will be found in the solidarity of the workers, the best reward for his selfless attitude."

Spiazano was given a stipend by the Argentine labor attache and also obtained work in Panama City.

The Communist conspiracy was documented when the Secret Police raided Communist Party headquarters on Central Avenue in the heart of the busiest shopping and business district of Panama City in 1950. They found originals and copies of letters from top Communists in Latin America and Europe containing policy and operational directives, introductions of couriers, strengthening of liaison and an elaborate system of cover addresses.

One of the letters was from Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Guatemala. He wrote to Gelso Solano, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Panama February 7, 1950, about the campaign to drive the United Fruit Company out of Guatemala.

"Today more than ever," Fortuny's letter read, "continuous contact between us is beneficial. On our part we will be sending you reports but we want to take advantage of the trips of persons of confidence who stop at Panama. Then we will be able to send better data about our fight."

Fortuny asked Solano to write to him at the headquarters of the Confederation of Guatemalan Workers (CTG).

Some of the other documents found included:

1. A letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Panama, known officially as the Partido del Pueblo, dated June 12, 1948, addressed to Manuel Mora Valverde, Secretary General of the Vanguardia Popular (Communist) Party of Costa Rica, in exile in Mexico. The letter stated it would be delivered to Mora by Domingo Barria, Panama Communist

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labor leader who would stop there on his way to the International Labor Office Conference in California. The letter dealt with matters relating to liaison and reorganization work of the outlawed Costa Rican party.

2. A copy of an accreditation to a party member on tour of Latin America by Ruben D. Souza, Secretary of Political Organization, which read: "We accredit Comrade Victor H. Lima, member of the Partido del Pueblo, political party of the working classes of the Republic of Panama, so that he may communicate for us with brother parties of the rest of America in the countries that he visits."

3. A letter from Romulo Escobar and Everardo Tomlison, two Communist student leaders, requesting the party's permission to leave the country and travel to a neighboring country.

4. A letter from January 30, 1947 from Celso Solano to Manuel Mora Valverde, advising that Modesto Porto, member of the Executive Committee of the Partido del Pueblo, would arrive in the "Province of Bocas del Toro (Panama) for the purpose of organizing our party in that province. Any effort that you may make to contact Porto will be much appreciated by us. He can be located in the house of the family of Comrade Rodrigo Sanchez."

5. A letter of January 13, 1947 from Solano to Luis Maria Ricaurte, Cartagena, Colombia, introducing party member Zapata Olivella: "I have the greatest confidence that the presence among you of Olivella will be of valuable help; because of his experience and sense of party discipline he will serve as a great constructor of the Colombian revolutionary movement."

6. A letter of March, 1949, from Armando C. Amador, exiled Nicaraguan Communist who resides in Guatemala, introducing party member Jose Luis Ramos to Solano "in order that you may be able to help him

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politically and labor-wise in the mission that takes him to Panama. Jose Luis, a young democratic fighter, is at the service of the labor and revolutionary cause of Guatemala. Any help you can give Ramos will be recognized here, especially by those who preside the revolutionary political fight."

7. A letter of March 26, 1947 from Solano to Luisa Gonzalez in San Jose, Costa Rica, containing information for Mora on a planned visit to Chiriqui and requesting the names of Costa Rican party members working on the United Fruit Company plantations in Panama in order to contact them; also requesting propaganda material on the presidential campaign of Dr. Rafael Calderon Guardia, Communist-backed candidate "to make every effort to publish it and broadcast it over the radio. This is very important because Otilio (Ulate) is very close here to the reactionary press.

8. A letter of March 22, 1949 from Blas Roca, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Cuba (Partido Socialista Popular), urging the Panama party to send a delegate to the World Peace Congress in April, 1949, "because we Latin Americans must fight harder than ever for peace. War will bring the worst persecutions for us, the most repugnant form of Yankee occupation, the most complete submission of our countries."

9. A letter of March 30, 1949 from Roca to Solano regretting the Panama party could not send a delegate to the World Peace Congress because of late notice and asking him to send a copy of a message to it.

10. A letter of June 1, 1949 from Roca to Solano, replying to one of May 28, advising he had talked with "Nela," a courier, and that the pamphlets on the Brodsky case and the aviation agreement with the United States had been received and would be publicized; advising also that a Continental Peace Congress would be held in Mexico in August or September and that the Panama party should write or cable adherence to Vicente Lombardo Toledano; also requesting an article for an anniversary issue of "Fundamentos,"

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the theoretical magazine of the Cuban party, to be published with articles by William Z. Foster, Jacques Duclos, Luiz Carlos Prestes, Berlioz and other top Communists.

11. A letter from Roberto Morena, Secretary General of the Communist-dominated Brazilian Confederation of Labor (CSTB), to Solano dated June 3, 1949, to report that he had returned to Mexico to resume an active role in CTAL operations (as Secretary General). Morena requested a full report on labor affairs in Panama and sent greetings especially to Hugo Victor. Morena asked that all mail be addressed to Señorita Olga Martinez Romero in Mexico City and added: "It is unnecessary to put my name on the envelope."

12. A letter from Roca to Solano of July 22, 1949: "I believe your visit to Bogota and Quito is a good idea. Regarding Colombia, I believe the discussion should be interesting, for we have been able to advance a lot on the road to end the existing split there. I have little news from Ecuador, but I understand they are going to discuss their program which is an interesting document and worthy of study."

13. A letter from Roca to Solano of August 10, 1949 in which the former thanked and praised the latter for his article "on a transcendental problem for Latin America which has not been properly treated up to now, perhaps for lack of information." Solano's article dealt with the operations of the United States in the Canal Zone.

14. A letter of October 8, 1946 from Guatemala by Luis A. Apestegui, a member of Panama's party Youth Movement, boasting that he had organized the Federation of Revolutionary Students of Central America and Panama with delegates from Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Panama and that he had been elected President.

15. An exchange of letters in 1947 between Solano and Wenceslao Colomer, Secretary General of the Catalunya, Spain, Socialist Youth Unity Party with headquarters at Haute-Garonne, Toulouse, France. Colomer wrote:



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"I see, however, that you have abandoned the Youth Movement for you sign as Secretary General of the Peoples' Party. I also work for the party, although as you can see I have not completely given up my responsibilities as Secretary General of the Catalunya Youth Party."

16. An education plan for the Communist Party cells organized among the students and teachers in the schools throughout the country to include the reading of: The Cominform weekly newspaper "For A Lasting Peace, For a Peoples' Democracy"; "Hoy," the Communist daily of Habana, Cuba; (which has been destroyed by Batista); "Voz de Mexico," official organ of the Communist Party of Mexico; Bulletins of the Cuban Communist Party; History of the Bolshevik Communist Party; Fundamental Questions of Leninism-Stalinism; Communist Manifesto by Marx; General Outline of the History of the Isthmus and the World.

On October 1, 1946 a slick 75-page magazine "ACIA" was published at the Government Printing Office without cost for a new student front named Asociacion Civica de Latino America (Latin American Civic Association) from which ACIA was derived. It was edited by Communist students of the National Institute, the country's largest secondary school in the capital.

The printing requisition had been approved by Minister of Education Jose Daniel Crespo at the request of his Undersecretary Cesar A. Quintero. Quintero was a member of the fellow traveling Patriotic Youth Front Party, most of whose leaders refused to believe they were pawns of the Communists. It was suspected that Hugo Victor and Cesar A. de Leon inspired ACIA.

The editors and officers were listed in the magazine as Romulo Escobar, Isaias Garcia, Everardo Ernesto Tomlinson, Moises Chang Marin, Moises Garcia and Adolfo Benedetti, all of whom were to figure prominently in the agitation against defense bases in Panama in 1946 and 1947.

The flaming cover of the magazine carried an ignited red torch spread

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over a map of Latin America with this caption: "Our cover indicates that the working class, and only the organized working class, is capable of carrying the torch of the economic social and political liberation of all Latin America."

The articles and poetry were entirely along the party line. The editors did not even try to cover their purpose in any subtle manner. A headline on page 55 read: "We Communists do not believe in false leaders. We believe in the masses."

The publication of that magazine precipitated the eventual resignation of Minister Crespo whose wife, Doña Elida Campodonico de Crespo, was the President of the Society of the Friends of the U.S.S.R. at the time. Its publication was called to the attention of President Enrique A. Jimenez. Jimenez had not been aware of it.

Jimenez instructed Crespo to issue a communique and warn merchants and the public not to consider the magazine an official publication. Crespo did. Each student at the National Institute was required to buy a copy for 10 cents. Surplus copies were placed on the newsstands and sold at 25 cents each. The revenue entered the party treasury. The government had printed the magazine free of charge.

Crespo and his wife deviated from their sympathy with Russia to all intents and purposes. It was Crespo who introduced the original bill to outlaw Communism in Panama in December, 1953, but he also included Falangism, Nazism and Fascism. The other three isms were killed by name in committee. Crespo is now a Deputy of the National Assembly. Both he and his wife served as ambassadors of Panama to Mexico at different times between 1947 and 1952.

ACIA was never published again but in 1951 the Communist Party got one of its members, Jorge E. F. do, the job as Director of the Government

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Printing Office. He was fired as soon as the government caught up with his party affiliation and skullduggery on the printing of identity cards, President Alcibiades Arosemena ordered him fired.

The Communists gained control of the Girls' Normal School, the largest teachers' training school in the country. Natividad Carreño J., its principal, registered as a member of the party in the city council's record book March 26, 1947.

The party heavily infiltrated the student body at the National University, where it placed members on the staff of the university newspaper and as correspondents in the interior. "Voz Universitaria" (University Voice) was converted into an Anti-American publication. In November, 1951, it carried a half page map of the world captioned: "Anglo-Yankee Imperialism Murders Arab Students."

In 1950 Cesar A. de Leon gave his students at the National Institute this question in a final examination: "Explain How Yankee Imperialism Affects the Panamanians in the Canal Zone." Minister of Education Max Arosemena received a complaint from a student, investigated it, and reprimanded the teacher.

De Leon attended the Communist Peace Congress in Mexico in 1949 together with Ramon H. Jurado, a functionary of the Patriotic Youth Front. Jurado was elected a Vice-President of the conference. Another Panamanian who attended was Cesar Candanedo. Rogelio Sinan, a writer and poet, sent a cable of adherence from Guatemala, lamenting he had to return to Panama and could not attend.

De Leon obtained a job as a professor at the National University. He had been using the professors' assembly hall to deliver extra-curricular lectures on Communism. Hugo Victor was among those who attended. A formal complaint was filed before Dr. Octavio Mendez Pereira, Rector of the University.

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A full scale investigation and a majority of the faculty council voted to fire De Leon. Twenty-two students signed a petition protesting his dismissal.

The Communists proved the value of infiltration and undermining of the students and teachers in 1947 when they scored their biggest victory in a campaign to drive United States troops from defense bases in the Republic of Panama. The campaign was so adeptly engineered from behind and planned sufficiently in advance that many Panamanians refuse even to this day to believe that the Communists deserve any credit at all for its success.

The drive began in November, 1945, when Panama voiced its interpretation of a 1942-defense agreement with the United States that our troops would have to be withdrawn from bases in Panama. This interpretation was not challenged by our state department until August 30, 1946.

But in the interim the Communists held weekly public rallies to agitate the base question. Besides the rallies in the cities of Panama and Colon meetings were inspired throughout the country. Nationalist passions were dwelt upon and patriotic explosions followed the failure of our government to surrender the bases on September 1, 1946.

The Communist Party files captured by the Secret Police were replete with documentary proof of the planning and direction of this campaign. On November 27, 1946 Solano wrote to Manuel Victorio Herrera, president of the party's executive committee for the Chorrera district (22 miles from Panama) and instructed him that "in the meeting you should talk again about the return of the bases that the government of the United States keeps."

On May 14, 1947 Ruben D. Souza, then Secretary of Organization and today Secretary General of the party, issued instructions to the party's provincial president in Colon, Felicia Santizo Garcia, to intensify the drive to campaign to eject the American troops from the bases. She was a teacher at the Abel Bravo secondary school, the largest in the city.

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"The party is ready," Souza wrote, "to start a fight of national scope, asking that negotiations be suspended immediately and that the Panama government demand the return of the bases or that the case be referred to the United Nations in case the United States refuses.

"In this sense a work plan has been drawn and pursuant thereto the provincial executive is hereby authorized to organize the mobilization of the masses in consort with the policies of the party in that sector.

"Comrade, this is the occasion to move large layers of masses to an anti-imperialist action directed against the United States. Because of its inability to stand up against Yankee imperialism the government has granted and will deliver our territory and in view of this situation the party cannot remain indifferent. The matter of the bases is an elemental question of patriotism in which no Panamanian, except the agents of imperialism, agrees that more should be granted.

"Therefore, there exists a great opportunity for the party to drag into the fight all the vast sectors of malcontents who for lack of organization or manner whereby to express themselves publicly have taken no action against the courses of the government.

"Concretely, the task of the party over there is to take the initiative in this fight, for which it should immediately call a meeting in order to plan the framework of the agitation. A meeting should be organized immediately, but to prepare for it meetings should be held in the districts by the existing base organizations.

"This agitation fight has something positive if all the elements available to the party are put to work. Precisely because of the patriotic nature of the matter any comrade who is not a member of the executive may participate publicly in order to explain the policies of the party. This is a positive form of letting the party members learn to agitate, a thing in which we are faulty.

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"The party should be identified and all members should identify themselves at every one of those meetings. We have authority to do it because of our patriotic fight. But the manifest support of the people to the party's campaign must be provoked. For that there must be organized a plan of petitions and telegrams, asking the government to suspend the negotiations. Party members should canvass for these telegrams in the streets. The petitions, in which should be said that the fight for the suspension of negotiations is supported and the government should demand the return of the bases, should be written by you."

On June 4, 1947 Souza wrote to Carlos Del Cid, then a university student in Bogota, Colombia, to start defense base agitation there. Del Cid replied in part June 22 as follows: "I received your lengthy letter in which you ask me 'to organize an action in defense of our country before the imperialist threat of the United States.' You should know that I am a member of the Peoples' Party, which gives me the task of complying as soon as possible with what the secretary of organization asks me."

Souza sent similar instructions to every city and town in the country where there was a Communist cell. Del Cid called a meeting of Panamanian students in Bogota and drummed up agitation there with letters to the newspapers. He took an active part in the April, 1948 riots during the Pan-American Conference. Del Cid and Solano were deported from Bogota by the Colombian government in April, 1949 for Communist activities.

The bases agitation accelerated under Communist direction as 1947 progressed. Victor, as Secretary General of the Students' Federation, mobilized the youngsters to agitate against it and to talk to their parents against it. The pact with the United States was signed early in December, 1947. Victor and other Communist leaders led a students' riot on December 12. Remon, as chief of police, was ordered to disperse them. The students clashed

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with the police. Several students were injured, one seriously. The Communists had produced their martyr. They then mobilized the teachers, the women and the opposition political parties. Their pressure campaign of telegrams and letters deluged the National Assembly to which body President Jimenez had sent the pact for ratification.

Victor was one of the witnesses called by the Congressional Committee which studied the pact. The salient points of his lengthy statement were: "The Students' Federation considers it only fair that it be given an opportunity to be heard because it has been the most important motive power of public opinion in defense of the sovereignty and the national integrity. The Students' Federation states that its password is the rejection of the pact. The Students' Federation would not even agree to the withdrawal of the agreement and its return to the executive. It wants the agreement considered by this chamber but it wants it rejected. In its path of struggle in defense of national integrity it maintains that our country should not grant to the United States, to any foreign power, a centimeter or an inch of its territory."

Humberto E. Ricord, an attorney who represented the University Alumni Association, was another witness. He had registered as a member of the Communist Party for the 1948 general elections. He demanded the pact be rejected.

Telegrams and cables from within and without the country were poured into the national assembly demanding the pact be repudiated. There were cables from Communist-dominated students' federations in Guatemala, Peru, Mexico, Cuba, Ecuador and Chile, but the congressmen had no knowledge the senders were Communists.

The students, 10,000 strong, marched on the national assembly and stood watch there demanding the rejection of the pact. The agreement was unanimously repudiated December 22, 1947, and American troops were immediately withdrawn from the bases in the republic.

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A cable of congratulations was sent to the National Assembly of Panama by Luiz Carlos Prestes, Brazilian Communist chieftain, former officer in the Red Army in Russia, and Cominform director for South America.

The Communists tried to whip up similar agitation in 1949 to sabotage a bilateral air agreement with the United States but the government of President Domingo Diaz was prepared for them. They submitted to the National Assembly a petition to repudiate the pact accompanied by a pamphlet entitled; "Stop the Collaborationism and Treason!" The pact was ratified over considerable opposition.

The party tried to torpedo a new concession contract with the United Fruit Company. Another petition was presented and another pamphlet was printed. Domingo Barria, the Communist labor leader, tried to stir up agitation at the company's plantations in Chiriqui and Bocas del Toro with the aid of Nemesio Lopez Zapata and other party agents and also in the capital but the Communists lost that fight.

Panamanians have attended student congresses in Warsaw, Prague and Bucharest. Cleto Manuel Souza, brother of Ruben Dario Souza, attended the Bucharest meeting in September, 1952. Cleto Souza is a senior medical student at the university and was Secretary General of the Students' Federation until the anti-Communist students voted him out of his job in a riotous session in November, 1953.

Student agitation reached chaotic heights in October and November, 1951, with the resignation of Minister of Education Ricardo J. Bermudez. He had signed the convoking call of the Communist Peace Congress in Mexico and was considered sympathetic to the Communists, a member of the Patriotic Youth Front but not a Communist. He was denied a visa to visit the United States in 1949.

A teachers' strike was organized to protest the resignation of Bermudez for political reasons. The strike continued over the independence



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celebration of November 3, 1951. Communist agitators tried to disrupt the independence day parade. The agitation and strikes continued through January, 1952. Violence erupted on January 30 between the students and the police. Mounted police were unhorsed, cars were overturned. Four students suffered burns when a station wagon they overturned caught fire. Shop windows were smashed and some looting was done. Fourteen policemen received minor bruises. The police arrested 24, including Carlos Del Cid.

The Star & Herald raised its voice in protest in an editorial entitled: "Something Must be Done!" It read:

"The republic, at least its capital city, is living through days of unrest and growing uneasiness, because the strike weapon has become a political arm.

"Today there is open rebellion against the duly established government and respect for constituted authority is fast fading. The quasi-anarchy that prevails is destroying the peace of mind of the community and is sorely hurting the economic life of the capital. This damage must also affect the economic life of the rest of the country.

"Something must be done to restore peace and security to the capital and the country at large.

"The country's economic situation is at such a low ebb today that it can ill afford to lose any particle of revenue that might accrue to it from its commercial activities which constitute one of the main sources of the economic life blood of the nation. The current unrest, the sense of insecurity that is felt everywhere, serves only to drive away what little trade could be done by our merchants. With rioting liable to break out anywhere in the city at any time, few spenders from across the line will risk their personal security and the safety of their property by coming into the capital. They will stay away. And this staying away if practiced long enough could become a habit hard to break tomorrow.

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"Something must be done then to put an end to the current disorders and violence and to restore full guarantees to life and property in the capital. Police intervention for such purposes is inevitable, regardless of whether politicians might try to make political capital out of such intervention in behalf of law and order.

"Something must be done soon and as effectively as possible to stop the disorders."

Del Cid led a hunger strike in jail for a week to obtain freedom. The Communists developed a sympathy campaign for him and six others in jail via the press and radio. He was ultimately released by the police magistrate who had ordered him and the others detained.

The principal reason for the agitation led by the Communists was to try to discredit the presidential candidacy of Remon, who was campaigning on an anti-Communist platform. The Communists had failed to register as a national political party but registered as a municipal party. They nominated Domingo Barria for Mayor of Panama City. He received very few votes as the party was instructed to vote for Manuel Solis Palma, candidate of the fellow traveling Patriotic Youth Front.

Remon intensified his anti-Communist campaign in the month preceding the elections. In May, 1952, he was elected by a landslide.

Three Panamanians visited the iron curtain countries late in 1952. They were Cleto Manuel Souza, who attended the International Students' Union Congress in Bucharest; Dr. Carlos De Bello Pedreschi, who attended the Vienna Peace conclave; and Carlos Francisco Chang Marin, who attended the Asian and Pacific Peace Congress in Peking, China.

Chang Marin was arrested January 25, 1953 after eluding the police. He was jailed for 30 days and then given nine months for trying to smuggle Soviet propaganda films into Panama. Souza testified he shipped the films of germ warfare propaganda against the United States in English dialogue from Zurich, Switzerland, addressed to Deputy Homero Velasquez, on Chang Marin's instructions.

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Velasquez received the post office customs notice to claim a package of "seven pieces of crystalware." Suspicious of this he summoned the secret police. The package was opened. The inner wrapping was addressed for delivery to Dr. Pedreschi. Souza and Pedreschi were arrested as well.

The party sought a writ of habeas corpus for Chang Marin. The petition was filed before the supreme court by Carlos A. Cajal, an attorney, who was Secretary General of the University Cell of the party in 1948.

In a unanimous and unprecedented decision the five justices of the supreme court denied the writ. Two justices dissented over the opinion of the majority in which the latter observed how the government should deal with the Communists. The decision read in part:

"The right of free speech cannot be exercised if it attacks the reputation or honor of a person or is against the security of society and public order. The right of assembly is restricted by the constitution which provides for police measures to prevent a breach of the peace. The constitution forbids the creation of political parties which are aimed at destroying the democratic system of government. It is clear that the authorities of the republic are duty-bound within their province of constitutional and legal action, to consolidate our institutional system and to prevent or repress, as the case may be, any type of activity which attempts against the basic foundations of the republic."

On the night of December 11, 1953, the Secret Police raided a Communist meeting in a workers' district. The meeting had been called to commemorate the sixth anniversary of the Communist-inspired student riots of December 12, 1947, and to celebrate the release of Chang Marin from jail.

Among those arrested were Hugo Victor and Cesar A. De Leon; Carlos Chang Marin, George Wong King, Enrique Lou Diaz. Victor was given 40 days in jail. He and De Leon were fired as teachers by an executive decree signed by Remon and Minister of Education Victor C. Urrutia.

As Chang Marin was led from the meeting all he shouted "Vivas" for

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Malenkov and Mao Tse Tung. He and the others taken with him each got 40 days in jail for holding an unauthorized meeting. The next night the police arrested Lenin Brower, secretary of the barbers' union, and raided his home and shop and confiscated a trunk full of Communist propaganda.

On December 18, 1953 the Secret Police confiscated twelve Communist books which had been shipped by mail by Daniel Bravo, Jr., a member of the Partido del Pueblo, who was supposed to be studying in Spain on a scholarship. The books were mailed from Amsterdam, Holland. and carried the inscription: "% R. Sannetge de Uroome, Soerabayosti I., Amsterdam, Holland."

Scattered inside the pages of the books were slips of paper containing names and addresses of persons in cities behind the Iron Curtain in Europe, undoubtedly contacts in the Communist conspiracy. Also scattered inside were slips of paper containing names and addresses of 107 persons in Panama City.

Jorge Luis Alfaro, Inspector General of the Secret Police, announced that not all of the 107 persons listed are known to be Communists. He also furnished the titles of the books. They included: Directives of the XIX Congress of the Party for the Fifth Five-Year Plan of the U. S. S. R., 1951-55; The Proletarian Class and the Proletarian Party, J. Stalin; The State and the Revolution, V. I. Lenin; Report to the XVIII Congress of the Party on the Activities of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of the U. S. S. R., J. Stalin; On Communist Education, M. L. Kalinin; The Underground Regional Committee in Action, two volumes, A. Fiodorov; Report to the XIX Congress of the Party on the Activities of the C. C. of the C. P. (b) of the U. S. S. R., G. Malenkov; Selected Works, K. Marx--F. Engels (volumes I and II); Questions of Leninism, J. Stalin; Marx Engels Marxism, V. I. Lenin.

The Communists dominated the labor unions and organized and dominated

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39 front organizations in Panama. The total number of citizens under the leftist wing has been estimated at 12,000. While this is an infinite minority it proved sufficient to dominate the agitation against the United States in the 1947 defense bases negotiations.

The Communist labor leader Domingo Barria has not been more successful because his operations have been constantly exposed. As Secretary General of the Federacion Sindical de Trabajadores de Panama (FSTRP) Barria is the CTAL link in Panama. For a time his organization dominated the banana workers at the United Fruit Company plantations in the Province of Chiriqui until the government cracked down on them.

Oscar Benitez Bone, Guatemala's Minister to Panama, was declared persona non grata in 1952 because of direct aid furnished to Communists and fellow travelers to provoke anti-government student agitation. This aid was financial and came from special funds deposited in the National City Bank of New York, Panama Branch.

The control of Guatemala by the Communists increases the danger of the spread of infiltration and agitation throughout Central America, Guatemala has wrested this role from Cuba, where Batista today is keeping close tabs on the Communists.

The threat is more acute because of the open support of Arbenz and his wife, Doña Maria Cristina Vilanova de Arbenz, to the Communists. Mrs. Arbenz, a native of El Salvador and daughter of a wealthy coffee planter, has been thoroughly indoctrinated by the Communists, as has her husband. On November 30, 1953 she attended the First National Congress of the Guatemalan Feminine Alliance and sat on the presidium. The government made available the auditorium of the Belen School, which is the site of the Central Girls' Normal Institute, the largest secondary school for teachers in the country.

Others present with Mrs. Arbenz at that congress included Jaime Diaz Rozzotto, Secretary General of the Presidency of the Republic

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and Secretary General of the Renovacion Nacional Party; Raul Leiva and Professor Oscar Vargas and his wife.

The day before Mrs. Arbenz attended the Communist front congress, the newspaper "Tribuna Popular," official organ of the PGT (Communist Party) published a list of names of Guatemalans who had just returned from a visit to Moscow under the auspices of the Soviet Trade Unions. These included: Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Leonardo Castillo Flores, Gabriel Camay, Armando Villaseñor, Albino Garcia, Gregorio Coronado, Jose Luis Ramos and Felicitio Alegria.

As soon as Gutierrez returned he was received by President Arbenz and his cabinet to give them a report on the visit to Russia. Jose Manuel Fortuny, who led the delegation to Moscow, remained at the Kremlin for further indoctrination, instructions and to help plan the strategy for the extension of the Communist conspiracy. Fortuny is supposed to have been promoted to a post as Cominform Director for Central America.

While still in Moscow, Fortuny also contributed towards the propaganda line. Pravda published a lengthy article on Guatemala, emphasizing that the country is not alone in its fight against the United States and counts with the full support of Soviet Russia. The article was widely broadcast by the Moscow Radio in Spanish.

The Moscow Radio bombards Central and South America with nightly propaganda programs in the Spanish and Portuguese languages. Just before the Senate of the United States ordered the Voice of America to cease its broadcasts to Latin America, the VOA was broadcasting programs of good--and effective--anti-Communist content into Guatemala and local radio stations were braving the wrath of the Communists by rebroadcasting them.

The consolidation of the Communist bridgehead in Guatemala may be expected to turn the Soviet strategy once again towards Panama and renew

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the thirty-year-old Communist plan for the internationalization of the Panama Canal. This plan was first planted in the mind of Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, leader of the leftist APRA Party of Peru (who has been in asylum in the Colombian embassy in Lima since January 3, 1949) by Alexander Lossovsky, head of the Profintern in Moscow in 1924.

The plan became point four of the Apra program and is recorded in detail in Haya's book "Anti-Imperialism and Apra." The seeds planted by Lossovsky have blossomed but have not yet borne fruit. Whether the Communists will press an all out offensive towards the "internationalization" or "inter-americanization" of the canal depends as well on the progress they will make in extending the Communist domination throughout Central America.

The four Central American republics-- El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica--have expressed firm determination to combat the Communist menace in Guatemala through the ODECA. Guatemalan anti-Communist exiles in El Salvador and Honduras are conducting their own cold war against the Arbenz government. An anti-Communist group in Mexico is also engaged in the same task. Panama has stated it will cooperate with the ODECA in this fight although it does not form part of it.

Moscow has been calling the signals for some time now in Central America via Guatemala. The agents of the red revolution are getting their training there to try to return to their own countries to become Fortunys and Gutierrezes. The Communists--like the Peronists--are the only political parties that work 24 hours a day, 365 days a year at their jobs.

The Communist Party has strengthened its liaison between operational headquarters in Mexico and Central America by the appointment by Arbenz of Roberto Alvarado Fuentes as Guatemala's Ambassador to Mexico. Alvarado Fuentes and Pinto Usaga form an ironclad link in the transmission belt of the Communist conspiracy.

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The party has also planted an experienced propagandist in Bolivia as Ambassador of Guatemala. He is Eliseo Martinez Zelada, who served as Director of Radio Broadcasting for both the Arevalo and Arbenz governments. Oscar Benitez Bone, who was ousted from Panama, has served as Secretary of the Guatemalan embassy in Bogota for the last twelve months--a come down from his higher post in Panama but, again, necessary because of party discipline.

Guatemala may be expected, too, to play an increasingly active part in promoting more frequent Central American student congresses, intellectual congresses, labor congresses and other front congresses. Transportation is furnished by the Arbenz government which sends one of its Aviateca DC-3 airplanes to every Central American capital and Panama to transport the delegates to and from their homes.

The Communists in Guatemala now have a more direct link with the Iron Curtain through the recent establishment of a new service by KLM, the Dutch airline. DC-6's are flown non-stop from Guatemala to Aruba and Curacao, connecting with KLM flights to Europe.

###JD/###